

## LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

Page 1 of 4

Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
001	cable	Athens 1008	S	1	12/31/65	A
<del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/RAC 03-276 same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118</del>						
002	cable	Athens 1006	S	5	12/30/65	A
<del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/RAC 03-276 more info released 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118</del>						
<del>003</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 963</del>	<del>S</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>12/22/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</del>						
<del>007</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 810</del>	<del>S</del>	<del>3</del>	<del>11/20/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>008</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 693</del> [dup. #12, NSF, Files of Komer, "Greece - 1965 Cabinet Crisis," Box 21]	<del>C</del>	<del>6</del>	<del>10/30/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>010</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 539</del>	<del>S</del>	<del>4</del>	<del>9/30/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>011</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 535</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>5</del>	<del>9/30/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>020</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 406</del>	<del>C</del>	<del>2</del>	<del>9/11/65</del>	<del>A</del>
022	cable	Athens 401	S	4	9/10/65	A
<del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/RAC 03-276 more info released 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118</del>						
<del>036</del>	<del>cable</del>	<del>Athens 236</del>	<del>S</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>8/11/65</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</del>						

Collection Title National Security File, Country File,  
Folder Title "Greece, Vol. I"

Box Number 126

## Restriction Codes

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12958 governing access to national security information.  
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06/26/2003

cbm  
Initials



## LBJ LIBRARY DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
040	cable	Athens 204 <del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/PAC 03-276</del> more info released 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118	S	2	8/6/65	A
050	cable	Athens 123 {dup. #51, this file} <del>sanitized 3-24-09 NW 08-18A</del>	S	1	7/24/65	A
051	cable	Athens 123 [dup. #50, this file] same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118 [Sanitized per FRUS, 6/24/03]	S	1	7/24/65	A
059	cable	Athens 86 <del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/PAC 03-276</del> same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118 <del>sanitized 3-24-09 NW 08-18A</del>	S	2	7/17/65	A
063	cable	Athens 37 [Sanitized per FRUS, 6/24/03] same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118 <del>1-6-05 NW/PAC 03-276</del>	S	3	7/9/65	A
066	cable	Athens 1340 <del>sanitized 1-6-05 NW/PAC 03-276</del> same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLS 12-118	S	3	3/12/65	A
067	cable	Athens 1316 <del>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</del>	C	3	3/6/65	A
070	cable	Athens 484 [Dup of #27+28, SHOSC, King Constantine, Bx 19] [dup. #134, NSF, Files of Komer, "Cyprus, 6-12/64" Bx 17] open 7-1-04 NW 03-300	S	2	9/4/64	A
074	cable	Athens 1885 <del>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</del>	C	1	6/12/64	A
075a	airgram	A-1122	S	10	4/18/64	A

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077	<del>cable</del>	Athens 1473 <i>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</i>	<del>C</del>	<del>2</del>	<del>3/31/64</del>	<del>A</del>
078	<del>airgram</del>	Athens 1010 <i>open 3-24-09 NLJ/RAC 03-277</i>	<del>S</del>	<del>3</del>	<del>3/21/64</del>	<del>A</del>
087	<del>cable</del>	Athens 1274 <i>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</i>	<del>C</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>2/21/64</del>	<del>A</del>
088	<del>cable</del>	Athens 1262 <i>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</i>	<del>S</del>	<del>2</del>	<del>2/19/64</del>	<del>A</del>
090	cable	Intelligence Information Cable <i>Exempt 11-9-04 NW/RAC 03-278 sanitized 9-24-12 NLJ/RAC 12-54</i> <i>Exempt 3-24-09 NLJ 08-185</i>	S	2	2/5/64	A
095	<del>cable</del>	Deptel 459 to Athens <i>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</i>	<del>S</del>	<del>1</del>	<del>10/22/65</del>	<del>A</del>
096	cable	<sup>260</sup> Deptel 620 to Athens <i>Sanitized 1-6-05 NW/RAC 03-276 same sanitization 4/7/14 per NLJ 12-118</i> <i>(dup. # 24, NSF files of Radu Koma, "Greece - 1965 Cabinet Crisis (Cables)" Box 21)</i>	S	1	9/9/65	A
101	<del>cable</del>	Deptel 806 to Athens <i>open 2-27-04 NW 03-302</i>	<del>C</del>	<del>2</del>	<del>2/1/64</del>	<del>A</del>
106	memo	Intelligence Memorandum <i>Exempt 11-9-04 NW/RAC 03-278 more info released 9-24-12 NLJ/RAC 12-54</i> <i>Sanitized 3-24-09 NLJ 08-185</i>	S	8	9/11/65	A
107	memo	Komer to Bundy <i>Sanitized 7-1-04 NW/RAC 03-279</i> <i>Same sanitization 8-26-09 NLJ 08-183</i>	S	1	9/11/65	A
107a	cable	Intelligence Information Cable [Exempt 9/11/00 per RAC] <i>Exempt 7-1-04 NW 03-301</i> <i>Exempt 3-24-09 NLJ 08-185</i> <i>Sanitized 9-24-12 NLJ/RAC 12-54</i>	S	3	9/9/65	A

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Initials



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Doc #	DocType	Doc Info	Classification	Pages	Date	Restriction
110	memo	Komer to Bundy <del>Sanitized 7-1-04 NLJ 03-300</del> same sanitization 12/10/12 per NLJ/RAC 12-55 <del>same sanitization 8-26-04 NLJ 08-183</del>	S	1	8/11/65	A
112a	letter	Matsas to Ball <del>open 2-27-04</del> <del>NLJ 03-302</del>	PCI	4	3/22/65	A
112b	memo	Agreement ↓	PCI	7	3/22/65	A
122	memo	Intelligence Memorandum [Exempt 9/11/00 per RAC] <del>exempt 7-1-04 NLJ 03-301</del> sanitized 9-24-12 NLJ/RAC 12-54 <del>exempt 3-24-04 NLJ 08-185</del>	S	1	6/21/64	A
122a	report	Intelligence Report [Exempt 9/11/00 per RAC] <del>exempt 7-1-04 NLJ 03-301</del> sanitized 9-24-12 NLJ/RAC 12-54 <del>exempt 3-24-04 NLJ 08-185</del>	S	7	[6/21/64]	A
135	memo	Komer to the President	S	1	1/27/64	A
140	memo	Komer to Bundy open } 7-1-04 } NLJ 03-300	C	1	12/11/63	A

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06/26/2003

Initials



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

5

46  
Action  
SS  
Info

~~SECRET~~

1. ~~Mod. Botis~~  
2. ~~Mr. Kaper~~

CONTROL: 23413  
RECD: DECEMBER 31, 1963  
11:04 A.M.

FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE PRIORITY 1008

002

~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 31

EXDIS

NO DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE DEPARTMENT

DEPARTMENT TO DETERMINE OTHER ADDRESSEES

EMBTel 1006

1. TOP LEVELS OF GOG TRENDING TODAY TOWARD REJECTION OF ALL POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION EXCEPT DEFECTOR'S BEING FOUND IN GREECE AND, AFTER REQUESTING ASYLUM OF GOG, BEING EXPOSED TO CONFRONTATION BY SOVIET OFFICIAL. AGAINST LIKELIHOOD THIS IS LINE TSIRIMOKOS WILL TAKE WITH ME MONDAY,

PREPARED TO COOPERATE FULLY AND ASSURE PROFESSIONAL HANDLING OF CONFRONTATION. NONETHELESS, SOMEWHAT UNHELLENIC APTNESS AND SECRECY WILL BE REQUIRED TO WVOID IMBROGLIO IF DEFECTOR SURFACED HERE.

GP-1

TALBOT

~~SECRET~~

UKW

12-118

03-23-2014



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

~~SECRET~~

80  
Action  
SS  
Info  
CONTROL: 23075

RECD: DEC 30, 1965 8PM

FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE PRIORITY 1006 (SEONE OF TWO)

002

~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 30.

EXDIS

NO DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE DEPARTMENT.

DEPARTMENT TO DETERMINE OTHER ADDRESSEES.

AS WASHINGTON INTER-AGENCY DEFECTOR COMMITTEE WAS INFORMED DECEMBER 17, NIKOLAI DMITRYIEVICH MASLOKOVETS, A SOVIET CITIZEN, WALKED INTO EMBASSY EVENING OF DECEMBER 16 REQUESTING POLITICAL ASYLUM.

MASLOKOVETS WAS IN FACT REMOVED FROM GREECE 36 HOURS LATER.

IN FOLLOWING DAYS WE BECAME AWARE OF INTENSIVE SOVIET CONSULAR EFFORTS TO FIND THIS MAN, AND SOME DAYS AGO PRESS SURFACED STORIES OF A SOVIET CITIZEN WHO HAD ARRIVED IN PIRAEUS AS PASSENGER ON SOVIET CRUISE SHIP "ADZARIA" AND THEN DISAPPEARED. GOG TOLD PRESS AND SOVIETS IT WAS SEARCHING FOR MAN, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. EMBASSY OFFICERS ASKED BY NEWSMEN WHETHER EMBASSY KNEW WHEREABOUTS OF SUCH A PERSON REPLIED ACCURATELY THEY HAD NO KNOWLEDGE OF MATTER.

FORMIN TSIRIMOKOS HAS NOW RAISED THIS CASE WITH ME OFFICIALLY AND, HE SAID, AT SPECIFIC REQUEST OF PRIMIN.

~~SECRET~~

SANITIZED  
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 12-118

By UUD NARA, Date 03-23-2014



~~SECRET~~

-2- 1006 DECEMBER 30, FROM ATHENS, . (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

IN PRESENCE OF HIS DIRECTZUR DU CABINET (AND NEPHEW) MARCOS ECONOMIDES, TSIRIMOKOS TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD JUST MADE EXCEEDINGLY HARSH REPRESENTATION TO DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER, THREATENING EVEN THAT SOVIET UNION MIGHT BREAK RELATIONS WITH GREECE IF MAN NOT FOUND. SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD DESCRIBED MAN AS MENTALLY UNBALANCED. TSIRIMOKOS SAID THAT FROM SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S TONE HE THOUGHT SOVIETS MIGHT SUSPECT, OR PERHAPS EVEN BELIEVE THEY HAVE INFORMATION, THAT AMERICANS MAY HAVE SPIRITED MAN OUT OF GREECE. TSIRIMOKOS HINTED THAT GOG WOULD LIKE TO CLEAR ITS SKIRTS BY APPREHENDING MAN IN ATHENS SHORTLY TO PERMIT SOVIET CONSULAR OFFICIALS TO CONFRONT HIM.

I LIMITED MY RESPONSE THIS MORNING TO GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT NUMBERS OF BLOC DEFECTORS WHO ARE TURNING UP THESE DAYS. WHEN I ASKED WHETHER SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD MADE ANY REFERENCE TO POSSIBLE USG INVOLVEMENT WITH THIS MAN, TSIRIMOKOS REPLIED THAT HE HAD NOT. CONVERSATION ON THIS SUBJECT WAS ALLOWED TO LAPSE AT THIS POINT, BUT I CARRIED AWAY IMPRESSION THAT TOP-LEVELS OF GOG WERE AGITATED ABOUT DAMAGE WHICH SOVIETS MIGHT BE ABLE TO CAUSE THEM DOMESTICALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY BY EXPLOITING THIS AFFAIR.

GREECE BEING GREECE, I BECAME INCREASINGLY CONCERNED IN SUBSEQUENT HOURS THAT STORY MIGHT QUICKLY SURFACE IF NOT TAMPED DOWN. IN LATE AFTERNOON I PASSED WORD THROUGH ECONOMIDES OF MY AVAILABILITY SHOULD TSIRIMOKOS WISH TO DISCUSS MATTER FURTHER. I WAS THEN SUMMONED TO FORMIN'S HOME WHERE WE HAVE TALKED THIS EVENING WITHOUT OTHERS PRESENT.

TSIRIMOKOS INDICATED THAT NEITHER HE NOR STEPHANOPOULOS HAD KNOWN ABOUT DEFECTOR CASE. IN RESPONSE TO HIS QUESTIONS,

I TOLD HIM I HAD BEEN AWARE OF CASE AND THAT WHAT I KNEW HAD BEEN SHARED AT EACH STAGE WITH CHIEF OF GOG ALIENS DIRECTORATE: FROM BEGINNING THIS CASE HAD BEEN DEALT WITH AS TECHNICAL MATTER AT LEVEL OF OFFICIALS AS ARE SO MANY ROUTINE MATTERS. TSIRIMOKOS ASKED WHETHER MASLOKOVETS HAD COME TO THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AND I SAID HE HAD. I GAVE NO INDICATION OF WHAT HAD HAPPENED AFTER THAT NOR DID TSIRIMOKOS ASK. HE READ ME A SHORT AND MILD LECTURE, HOWEVER, ON VIRTUES OF LETTING HOST COUNTRY HANDLE MATTER OF THIS SORT SO IT DOESN'T LOOK TO SOVIETS OR LOCAL PUBLIC OPINION AS IF GOG MERELY SATELLITE OF U.S.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

-3- 1006 DECEMBER 30, FROM ATHENS. (SECTION ONE OF TWO.)

TSIRIMOKOS AGREED THAT IMPORTANT ISSUE WAS HOW GOG COULD HANDLE PROBLEM POSED BY BITTER SOVIET REPRESENTATIONS. WE DISCUSSED RELATIVE ADVANTAGES OF GREEKS FINDING MAN AND EXPOSING HIM TO SOVIET CONFRONTATION, MAN'S TURNING UP SHORTLY IN SOME THIRD COUNTRY, OR HIS NOT BEING DISCOVERED BY ANYBODY FOR LONGISH TIME. TSIRIMOKOS INSISTED THAT GOG COULD NOT LIVE WITH THIRD POSSIBILITY, AS SOVIETS WOULD HOUND IT WITH ACCUSATIONS THAT MAN BEING SECRETLY HELD. HE FEARED BOTH SOVIET PRESSURE AND DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS OF THIS COURSE. HIS FIRST PREFERENCE WAS FOR MAN TO BECOME AVAILABLE IN ATHENS, THOUGH AS DISCUSSION PROGRESSED HE BECAME INCREASINGLY INTERESTED IN THIRD COUNTRY POSSIBILITY.

I OFFERED TO SEEK INFORMATION FROM WASHINGTON ON HOW DEFECTORS BEING HANDLED IN OTHER COUNTRIES. TSIRIMOKOS EXPRESSED SATISFACTION AT THIS, AND PROPOSED THAT WE MEET AGAIN MONDAY. IN CLOSING THIS CONVERSATION HE REPEATED THAT HE WAS CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET PRESSURE BUT EVEN MORE ABOUT DAMAGE MISHANDLING OF THIS CASE COULD CAUSE ON GREEK DOMESTIC FRONT.

GP-1.

TALBOT

~~SECRET~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

80  
Action  
55  
Info  
CONTROL: 23076

~~SECRET~~

RECD: DEC 30, 1965 7:59PM

FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE PRIORITY 1006 (SETWO OF TWO)

~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 30.

EXDIS

NO DISTRIBUTION OUTSIDE DEPARTMENT.

DEPARTMENT TO DETERMINE OTHER ADDRESSEES.

COMMENT:

FROM WHAT WE KNOW OF MASLOKOVETS, WHO DESCRIBED HIMSELF AS TEACHER IN ROSTOV INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, HE HARDLY SEEMS WORTH FUSS SOVIETS MAKING OVER HIS DISAPPEARANCE. IF, AS MASLOOVETS SAYS HE HAD ATTEMPTED TO DEFECT FROM SAME CRUISE SHIP AT MOMBASA, HE WAS PRESUMABLY MARKED MAN, AND THIS MIGHT MAKE HIS DISAPPEARANCE MORE DIFFICULT FOR SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO EXPLAIN TO MOSCOW. HOWEVER, HARSH AND THREATENING SOVIET REACTION IS OF A PIECE WITH GENERAL INTENSIFICATION OF SOVIET PRESSURES ON GOG SINCE FALL OF PAPANDREOU. SOVIETS MAY SEE OPPORTUNITY TO INCREASE SQUEEZE ON GOG AND POSSIBLE ALSO TO PUT USG IN BAD LIGHT.

I CERTAINLY BELIEVED GOG HAD GIVEN ITS CLEARANCE TO ACTIONS TAKEN. MOST EARLIER CASES HAD COME FROM SATELLITES OF COURSE; THERE HAS BEEN NO RECENT INCIDENT OF OTHER SOVIET DEFECTOR COMING TO THIS EMBASSY.

TSIRIMOKOS PRESENTED MATTER WITH DELICACY AND EVIDENT GOOD WILL AND WITHOUT RECRIMINATION. RATHER, HE MADE IT APPEAR A PAINFUL PGAWBSWBF UPOZNING\* OF WHICH HE LOOKED TO USG FOR HELP. ALTHOUGH GAPS IN COMMUNICATION WITHIN GOG RAISE AWKWARD QUESTIONS, MAIN ISSUE IS HOW

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-2- 1006 DECEMBER 30, FROM ATHENS. (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

GOG DEALS WITH SOVIET PRESSURES AND ITS OWN PUBLIC OPINION IF STORY BREAKS. GIVEN LIKELIHOOD MATTER CAN NOT BE KEPT QUIET FOR LONG, I WOULD FAVOR EARLY DISCREET SURFACING OF DEFECTOR IN PLAUSIBLE THIRD COUNTRY. SURFACING HIM IN GREECE IS A POSSIBILITY WHICH MIGHT BECOME INESCAPABLE BUT I FEAR HIS PRESENCE HERE COULD EASILY PRODUCE POLITICAL AND PRESS CIRCUS FROM WHICH USG WOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED.

GP-1

TALBOT

\* AS RECEIVED, SERVICE UPON REQUEST.

~~SECRET~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

F  
S

3

~~SECRET~~

2  
Action

SS

Info

CONTROL: 17180

RECD: DECEMBER 22, 1965, 532 A.M.

002

FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE PRIORITY 963

~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 22.

EXDIS

DURING CONVERSATION REPORTED SEPARATELY, KING INQUIRED WHEN HE COULD EXPECT REPLY TO HIS RECENT LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT. HE NOTED THAT SOME TIME HAD ELAPSED SINCE HE HAD SENT LETTER. WITHOUT EMPHASIS AND APPARENTLY IN GOOD HUMOR, HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT ONCE BEFORE HE HAD WRITTEN THE PRESIDENT ON MATTER HE CONSIDERED URGENT AND HAD RECEIVED REPLY ONLY AFTER SOME WEEKS. I SAID I HAD NO INFORMATION AT THE MOMENT BUT WOULD PASS ON ANY THAT CAME TO ME.

COMMENT: I HAVE NOT BEEN INFORMED OF THIS LETTER BY ANY SOURCE OTHER THAN KING HIMSELF. REQUEST INSTRUCTIONS. TALBOT.

DECLASSIFIED  
E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5  
NLJ 03-302  
By us, NARA, Date 2-23-04

~~SECRET~~

4

**SUMMARY**

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

44

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Action  
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ZNY CCCCC  
R 121358Z

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 915

STATE GRNC

BT

009335

1965 DEC 12 AM 11 37

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE DECEMBER 12

JOINT EMBASSY/USIS

ATHENS PRESS HAS GIVEN THOROUGH AND PROMINENT COVERAGE TO PL-480 ANNOUNCEMENT WITH NEWS SLANT AND COMMENT FOLLOWING CLOSELY PRO OR ANTI GOVERNMENT LINE OR INDIVIDUAL NEWSPAPERS.

PRO-GOVERNMENT PRESS WELCOMES U.S. ACTION AND STRESSES STRONG AND CONTINUING U.S. INTEREST IN GREECE. STEPHANOPOULOS STATEMENT THAT ASSISTANCE IS PROOF THAT IN FUTURE U.S. "WILL HELP OUR COUNTRY IN THE PRESENT EFFORT IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD" WAS PEG FOR COMMENT ON GOVERNMENT'S INCREASED EFFORTS TO SECURE MORE AID FROM ABROAD IN VARIOUS FORMS. EXPLICITLY SUGGESTED THAT EXTERNAL AID TO GREECE HAS NOW "BEGUN." PRO-GOVERNMENT PRESS AND RADIO ARE HITTING HARD ON ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS.

MODERATE OPPOSITION PRESS DOES NOT GIVE SAME PROMINENT PLAY TO STORY. SAYS MAGNITUDE OF ASSISTANCE DOES NOT MEET NEEDS AND BELIES EXPECTATIONS OF GOG WHICH IS TRYING TO CONCEAL DISAPPOINTMENT. IT ALSO COMPLAINS GOG SHOULD BE ALLOWED SELL MORE WHEAT THAN PERMITTED.

COMMUNIST AND FAR-LEFT NEWSPAPERS ARE SARCASTIC ABOUT AMOUNT AND NATURE OF ASSISTANCE AND SAY TAXES WILL ACCORDINGLY HAVE TO GO UP.

TO GET MAXIMUM PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFT AND TO COUNTER OPPOSITION CARPING, GOG IS USING RADIO EXTENSIVELY TO STRESS ADVANTAGES OF AID.

TALBOT

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State* SUMMARY

87

~~SECRET~~

049

003845

Action

T VV QMA310VV ATA984

RR RUEHCR

DE RUQMAT 2886A 3392030

1965 DEC 5 PM 4 51

Info

ZNY SSSSS

R 052000Z

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC (889)

STATE GRNC

BT

~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 05 SECTION I OF II

// L I M D I S //

FOR THE SECRETARY

AFTER TWO MONTHS HERE, I AM IMPRESSED BY DEPTH OF MALAISE IN GREEK PUBLIC LIFE AND BY PROSPECT THAT FURTHER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DETERIORATION COULD THREATEN US INTERESTS. THIS IMPRESSION HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY MY TALKS IN PAST FEW DAYS WITH KING, PRIMIN AND OTHER OFFICIALS.

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 2886A ~~SECRET~~

EMBASSY IS FORWARDING DETAILED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COMMENTARIES SEPARATELY (EMBTELS 887 AND 888). IN SUM, NOTHING IS IRRETRIEVABLE, YET GREECE COULD IN FACT SOON EXPERIENCE BREAKDOWN OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN MIDST OF SEVERE ECONOMIC TURBULENCE.

SHOULD RATHER WEAK-KNEED STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT COLLAPSE IN NEXT FEW WEEKS, I AM CONCERNED AT PROSPECTIVE POLARIZATION BETWEEN THOSE WHO MAY BECOME RECONCILED TO AN "ABNORMAL" SOLUTION (BY WHICH THEY MEAN A NONPARLIAMENTARY REGIME APPOINTED BY KING WITH SUPPORT OF ARMY) AND THOSE WHO, WHILE MAKING ANTICROYALISM AN ISSUE, WOULD NUDGE GREECE IN BHUTTO-LIKE FASHION TOWARD NEUTRALIST DABBLING WITH ALL VARIETIES OF EXTERNAL CONTACTS. I AM EQUALLY CONCERNED THAT EROSION OF CONFIDENCE IN DRACHMA, ON WHOSE STABILITY SHOLE GREEK ECONOMIC GROWTH HAS BEEN BASED SINCE 1953 DEVALUATION, COULD BRING HIGHLY DESTRUCTIVE RUN ON AVAILABLE ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

GREECE IS TRADITIONALLY VOLATILE, AND GREEKS SOMETIMES MEET THEIR PROBLEMS IN UNEXPECTED WAYS. HOWEVER, AGAINST CURRENTLY VISIBLE ALTERNATIVES I HAVE COME TO OPINION THAT CONTINUANCE

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

EO 12958, Sec. 3.5

Simplified Classification

By cbm, NARA, 04-26-03



~~SECRET~~

-2- 889, December 5 (Section one of two), from Athens

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2886A ~~SECRET~~  
IN OFFICE FOR SOME MONTHS OF PRESENT SORT OF GOG (I.E.,  
PARLIAMENTARY AND MIDDLE OF ROAD, BUT NOT NECESSARILY HEADED  
BY STEPHANOPOULOS) OFFERS BEST PROSPECTS OF AVOIDING EXTREMES  
OF POLARIZATION AND DEGENERATION.

BY RIGHTS, GREEKS SHOULD TODAY BE CLOSING RANKS, REGARDLESS  
OF WHAT OUTSIDERS MAY DO, IN MAXIMUM EFFORT TO SAVE THEIR SITUATION.

I HAVE RELUCTANTLY BEEN PERSUADED, HOWEVER, THAT GREEKS'  
CONFIDENCE IN THEMSELVES STILL DEPENDS TOO MUCH ON WHETHER  
OTHERS - - ESPECIALLY THEIR PRESENT-DAY PRINCIPAL PROTECTORS,  
THE AMERICANS - - CONTINUE TO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THEM. THUS  
THE ARGUMENT I'VE HEARD SO FREQUENTLY: THAT SYMBOLISM OF  
AMERICAN SUPPORT IS AS IMPORTANT AS ITS SUBSTANCE. LIKE BANK  
FACED WITH RUN BY PANICKY CUSTOMERS, GREEKS BELIEVE A DEMONST-  
RATION OF EXTERNAL CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT CAN DO MORE THAN THEIR  
OWN EFFORTS TO MEET IMPENDING STORM.

THERE ARE SEVERAL WAYS IN WHICH US ACTION IN NEXT WEEK OR TWO  
COULD REDUCE LIKELIHOOD OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS.  
WE HAVE REACHED STRATEGIC MOMENT FOR ANNOUNCEMENT OF READINESS  
TO NEGOTIATE RESUMPTION OF PL 480 TITLE IV PROGRAM, AND

PAGE 4, RUQMAT 2886A ~~SECRET~~  
EMBASSY IS PREPARED TO MAKE MOST OF A DECISION TO PROCEED.  
WE CAN, I BELIEVE, PROFITABLY LINK SUCH AN OFFER WITH INSISTENCE  
ON SELFHELP MEASURES IN AGRICULTURAL POLICY FIELD AND IN  
BROADER ECONOMIC AREA, ESPECIALLY NEW TAXATION.

BECAUSE PROGRAM LOAN FOR COUNTRIES "GRADUATED" FROM AID IS  
POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC QUESTION IN WASHINGTON (JUST  
AS IN DIFFERENT WAYS IT IS IN ATHENS), I HAVE LOOKED HARD  
AT OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR HELPING DEAL WITH GREECE'S FOREIGN  
EXCHANGE CRUNCH. IN PARTICULAR, I WOULD APPRECIATE DEPART-  
MENT'S JUDGEMENT WHETHER THERE COULD BE IMMEDIATE REPEAT  
IMMEDIATE NOURISHMENT IN ANY OF THE VARIOUS OUTSTANDING  
SUGGESTIONS OF STANDBY CREDITS, AN EXTRA PUSH ON OECD  
CONSORTIUM, NATO DEFENSE AID, EMA OF IMF, OR LENDING BY EM-IM  
AND IBRD. FROM INFORMATION AVAILABLE HERE ON TIME FRAME IN  
WHICH MOST OF THESE COULD TAKE EFFECT, I DO NOT SEE HOW  
THEY WOULD BEAR ON THIS MONTH'S POLITICAL SITUATION.

THUS I HAVE SLOWLY AND WITH GREAT RELUCTANCE (SINCE I HAVE  
NOT YET FORGOTTEN WASHINGTON'S PROBLEMS WITH SUCH ISSUES)

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

-3- 889, December 5 (Section one of two), from Athens

PAGE 5, RUQMAT 2886A ~~SECRET~~

COME TO CONCLUSION THAT PRESENT GOG OR ONE LIKE IT IS UNLIKELY TO SURVIVE WITHOUT SOME IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHICH AT SAME TIME WOULD GIVE CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF US CONFIDENCE AND ENCOURAGEMENT. POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS ARGUE FOR LONG-TERM LOAN AT RATHER LOW INTEREST TO FINANCE COMMODITIES FROM US AND THUS BOTH HELP GREEK PAYMENTS BALANCE AND GENERATE DRACHMAE TO MEET DOMESTIC INVESTMENT COSTS. I REGRET TO SAY THAT TIME FOR THIS MEDICINE TO BE EFFECTIVE IS NOW.

WITH A U.S. CONTRIBUTION I BELIEVE WE CAN GET GOG TO FACE ITS OWN DARD AND DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WITH MORE STARCH THAN HERETOFORE AND WITH SOME CHANCE OF SURVIVING. (I WISH I COULD FORECAST THAT WE COULD ALSO GET GREEKS INTO VIETNAM, AND I HAVEN'T LOST HOPE FOR SOME SORT OF IDENTIFICATION, BUT I FEAR ANDREAS & CO. COULD READILY DESTROY THIS GOVT OVER ISSUE OF DIRECT MILITARY COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM.)

GP-1. TALBOT  
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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

87

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049

Action

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Info

VV QMA812VV ATA985  
RR RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 2886AA 3392120  
ZNY SSSSS  
R 052100Z

1965 DEC 5 PM 5 19

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC (889)  
STATE GRNC  
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~~SECRET~~ DECEMBER 05 SECTION II OF II

T // L I M D I S // //

FOR THE SECRETARY

I HAVE CONSIDERED IMPLICATIONS FOR PARTY SITUATION HERE OF ANY AMERICAN GESTURE AT THIS MOMENT. IT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY ENHANCE GREEK POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR STEPHANOPOULOS REGIME, WHICH IN CURRENT CIRCUMSTANCES SEEMS TO BE GOOD. MOREOVER, I DO NOT BELIEVE PAPANDREOU OPPOSITION WOULD OR COULD MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL OF IT, SINCE GEORGE PAPANDREOU IS FIRMLY ON RECORD AS SUPPORTING GOG REQUEST FOR US AID.

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 2886AA ~~SECRET~~

APART FROM ECONOMIC MEASURES, WE CAN I BELIEVE MAKE USEFUL PSYCHOLOGICAL GESTURES. IN RECENT DAYS GREEKS IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT AND GREEK-AMERICANS (INCLUDING TOM PAPPAS, PERHAPS HEAVIEST AMERICAN INVESTOR IN GREECE) HAVE URGED ON ME ADVANTAGES OF GETTING PRESIDENTIAL INVITATION FOR STEPHANOPOULOS AND SEVERAL COLLEAGUES TO VISIT WASHINGTON IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. APART FROM DIFFICULTIES I CAN ENVISAGE AT WASHINGTON END, THIS SEEMS UNWISE TIMING IN VIEW OF SITUATION HERE AND CYPRUS DEBATE IN NEW YORK. HOWEVER, A HIGH-LEVEL US VISITOR PAUSING IN ATHENS COULD DO MUCH GOOD. ALSO OF GREAT VALUE WOULD BE A SPEECH REFERENCE OR PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT BY A HIGHLY-PLACED USG PERSONALITY EXPRESSING SYMPATHETIC CONCERN WITH GREECE'S PROBLEMS AND CONFIDENCE THAT GREECE AND ITS FRIENDS WILL WORK EFFECTIVELY TOGETHER TO MEET THESE PROBLEMS.

GP-1. TALBOT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

6

87

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Action NNNNVV QMA322/;; -5-998

NEA DE RUQMAT 2660A 3262030

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1965 NOV 22 PM 2 36

SS FM AMEMBASSY AT HENS

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NOVEMBER 22

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EUR JOINT EMBASSY/USIS MESSAGE

P

USIA COMMUNIST-LINE AVGHI NOVEMBER 22 RUNS FOUR-COLUMN PICTURE PAGE

NSC ONE OF KENNEDY CAR JUST BEFORE ASSASSINATION. CAPTION

INR SAYS THIS "AMAZING DOCUMENT WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED IN

CIA U.S." IT PURPORTEDLY SHOWS JACK RUBY AND ALLEN DULLES IN BACKGROUND

NSA LOOKING AWAY FROM KENNEDY. ANOTHER MAN IN BACKGROUND IS IDENTIFIED

DOD AS "PROBABLY" MCGEORGE BUNDY. CAPTION SUGGESTS THEY ARE LOOKING

NIC IN DIRECTION FROM WHICH FATAL SHOTS WILL COME. CAPTION CONCLUDES:

SY "IN HIS TESTIMONY TO THE COURT, RUBY STATED HE WAS NOT

RSR PAGE TWO RUQMAT 2660A

PRESENT AT THE WELCOME TO THE PRESIDENT. THE PICTURE CONTRADICTS HIM."

SAME ISSUE CARRIES LENGTHY STORY INSIDE BY N.Y. CORRESPONDENT, CHR. NICOLOPOULOS (UNKNOWN TO US) REHASHING DETAILS OF ASSASSINATION, TESTIMONY ETC., BUT MAKING SAME POINT THAT RUBY AND ALLEN DULLES WERE PRESENT AT ASSASSINATION. STORY SAYS MINUTES AND TESTIMONY OF INVESTIGATION WILL NOT BE MADE PUBLIC FOR 75 YEARS.

POST WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER SAME STORY AND PIX FLOATED IN OTHER COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS. IF ANY COMMENT OR BACKGROUND AVAILABLE WE WOULD APPRECIATE FILL IN. POUCHING PIX AND CAPTION TEXT.

TALBOT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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RR RUEHCR RUEHDT RUEHFN RUEHPA RUEFCR  
DE RUQMAT 2639A 3241715  
ZNY SSSSS  
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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 810  
INFO RUEHPA/AMEMBASSY PARTS 179  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 215  
RUQVHM/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 190  
RUEHFN/AMEMBASSY LONDON 49  
RUEHDT/USUN NEW YORK 35  
RUEFCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
STATE GRNC  
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DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 03-302

By us, NARA, Date 2-23-04

~~SECRET~~ NOVEMBER '20.

PARIS FOR CRAWFORD AND BURNS.

USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN.

DURING FONMIN TSIRIMOKOS' PAUSE IN ATHENS BETWEEN VISIT TO NICOSIA AND IMMINENT DEPARTURE FOR NEW YORK, I CALLED ON HIM TODAY TO SOLICIT HIS PRESENT THINKING ON CYPRUS.

FONMIN SEEMED REASONABLY SATISFIED WITH HIS TALKS WITH MAKARIOS. HE CLARIFIED HIS PUBLIC REMARK IN NICOSIA REGARDING WHO HAS INITIATIVE IN DIRECTING CYPRUS STRUGGLE. HE HAD MERELY MENTIONED THAT "PRECEDENCE" GOES TO CYPRIOT "PEOPLE," HE SAID. HE HAD

TPAGE 2 RUQMAT 2639 ~~SECRET~~

NEVER STATED OR MEANT THAT INITIATIVE OR PRECEDENCE BELONGS TO CYPRIOT GOVT. IN FACT, HE HAD MADE CLEAR TO MAKARIOS THAT GOC MUST BE CONSULTED ON ALL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS AND THAT IT WILL NOT ACCEPT FOLLOWING SUIT AFTER SOME FAIT ACCOMPLI BY GOC AS HAPPENED SEVERAL TIMES IN PAST, SPECIFICALLY DURING PAPANDREOU GOVT. HE SAID THERE WAS AGREEMENT BETWEEN HIM AND ARCHBISHOP ON THIS ISSUE.

TSIRIMOKOS SAID MAKARIOS EXPRESSED OPINION THAT GOT PROBABLY REALIZES ENOSIS IS REALLY IN ITS BASIC INTEREST: HOWEVER, SINCE TURKISH PUBLIC OPINION HAD BEEN SO AROUSED AGAINST UNION, TURKEY COULD ONLY SWALLOW ENOSIS NOW IF IT WERE ACCOMPANIED BY MAJOR CONCESSIONS. AS SUCH CONCESSIONS ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO GREEK AND GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE, ROAD TO ENOSIS WILL BE LONG.

~~SECRET~~



~~SECRET~~

-2- 810, NOVEMBER 20, FROM ATHENS

ACCORDING TO TSIRIMOKOS, ARCHBISHOP IS NOT OPPOSED TO GREEK-TURKISH TALK, PROVIDING BASIS IS ENOSIS AND NOT MATTERS OF INTERNAL CONCERN ON ISLAND. FONMIN STATED GREEK-CYPRIOIS NATURALLY HAVE PRIMARY SAY ON LATTER, BUT HE ALSO INDICATED THIS WILL NOT PREVENT GOG FROM DISCUSSING WITH GOT THIS ASPECT OF PROBLEM. TSIRIMOKOS ADDED THAT ARCHBISHOP IS ALSO NOT OPPOSED TO IDEA THAT HE HIMSELF SHOULD TALK DIRECTLY WITH TURKS, ALTHOUGH

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2639A ~~SECRET~~  
HE IS NOT SOLICITING SUCH DISCUSSIONS.

RE UNGA DEBATE, TSIRIMOKOS SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO AFGHANISTAN-IRAQI DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH, "UNFORTUNATELY," HAS TURKISH LABEL SINCE IT MENTIONS "NEW" MEDIATION. HE STATED THAT HE HAD NO PERSONAL FEELINGS REGARDING PLAZA, ALTHOUGH HE WAS NOT SATISFIED WITH PARTS OF MEDIATOR'S REPORT. IMPORTANT POINT, HOWEVER, IS THAT UN MEDIATION EFFORTS CONTINUE, PARTICULARLY AS KIND OF CLOAK FOR TALKS BETWEEN INTERESTED PARTIES. RESOLUTION INCLUDING REAFFIRMATION MARCH FOUR SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WITH ITS REFERENCE TO MEDIATOR, HE HINTED, WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE.

TSIRIMOKOS ALSO REVEALED THAT HE INTENDED TO MEET IN NEW YORK TURKISH FORMIN IHSAN SABRI CAGLAYANGIL, WHOM HE DOES NOT YET KNOW.

I SUGGESTED DIFFICULTIES OF GETTING UN AGREEMENT ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE RESOLUTION ON CYPRUS AND MADE CLEAR OUR PREFERENCE FOR A PROCEDURAL RESOLUTION WHOSE EXISTENCE WOULD NOT IMPEDE ENSUING EFFORTS TO MAKE SOME PROGRESS WITH CYPRUS ISSUE. I EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE AMBASSADORS GOLDBERG AND YOST WOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS MATTER WITH HIM FURTHER IN NEW YORK.

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2639A ~~SECRET~~  
COMMENT:

TSIRIMOKOS' INTENTION TO SEE TURKISH FONMIN IN NEW YORK IS ENCOURAGING, PARTICULARLY WHEN WE RECALL RELUCTANCE OF FORMER FONMIN KOSTOPOULOS TO MEET HIS COUNTERPART. I HAVE HOPEFUL IMPRESSION THAT, IF TSIRIMOKOS GETS ENOUGH ENCOURAGEMENT DURING HIS TALK WITH CAGLAYANGIL, THERE WILL BE CHANCE FOR REOPENING

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-3- 810, NOVEMBER 20, FROM ATHENS

DIALOGUE. BECAUSE STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT IS HOLDING ON BY SUCH A SMALL AND FRAGILE MAJORITY, I WOULD NOT HOWEVER PREDICT THAT GOG WILL BE IN POSITION TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS. IN THIS REGARD, CONSIDERATION FOR GREEK PUBLIC OPINION WOULD MAKE IT AS IMPORTANT FOR PRESENT GOVT AS IT WAS FOR PAPANDREOU TO HAVE SOME KIND OF UN MEDIATION AS COVER FOR TALKS.

GP-2.

TALBOT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

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Action

NEA MV QMA833VV ATA328  
Info RR RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 2291/1A 3032045  
SS ZNY CCCCC  
G R 301915Z  
SP FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
SAH TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 693  
L INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 180  
SAL RUQVUN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 162  
EUR RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 158  
P RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY  
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1965 OCT 30 PM 6 27

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 03-302

By isa, NARA, Date 2-23-04

USIA ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEONE OF TWO OCTOBER 30

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN

PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS CALLED ME TO HIS OFFICE THIS NOON TO MAKE RENEWED APPEAL FOR IMMEDIATE US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. HE DESCRIBED GREECE'S URGENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES IN STRONGER TERMS THAN IN OUR EARLIER MEETING (EMBTel 622) AND EMPHASIZED POLITICAL AS WELL AS ECONOMIC ARGUMENT TO SUPPORT HIS REQUEST. AT END OF CONVERSATION PRIMIN HANDED ME LETTER TRANSMITTED NEXT FOLLOWING EMBTEL.

IN RELATED MOVE TODAY, MINISTER OF COORDINATION MITSOTAKIS DELIVERED TO ME SEPARATE LETTER CONFIRMING GOG'S URGENT DESIRE

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 2291A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
TO OBTAIN FEEDGRAIN UNDER PL 480 TITLE IV. LETTER BEING FORWARDED BY SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

STEPHANOPOULOS BEGAN HIS LENGTHY STATEMENT TO ME BY SETTING OUT WHAT HE CALLED "POSITIVE" ASPECTS OF CURRENT CRISIS. VISIT OF KING AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS TO THESSALONIKI THIS WEEK HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT BASIC CHANGE HAS TAKEN PLACE IN OPOULAR ATTITUDE TOWARD GOVERNMENT. EARLIER VISITS BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS OUTSIDE ATHENS HAD SOMETIMES DRAWN ATTACKS. THIS TIME THERE HAD BEEN NONE OF THESE; IN FACT, SMALL GROUPS IN STREETS HAD APPLAUDED APPEARANCES OF KING AND HIMSELF. HE FELT PEOPLE COMING TO UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT EFFORTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH CRISIS.

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-2- 693, October 30, from Athens, Section One of Two.

SECOND FAVORABLE ASPECT, PRIMIN CONTINUED, IS THAT LAW AND ORDER GRADUALLY BEING RESTORED. GOVERNMENT NOW APPROACHING POINT OF SUFFICIENT STRENGTH TO PROHIBIT OPEN AIR RALLIES AND "MARCHES" SUCH AS PAPANDREOU'S TRIP TO PATRAS LAST WEEK. EVENTUALLY IT WOULD BE ABLE TO CONFINED ALL POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS WITHIN CLOSED SPACES SUCH AS MOVIE THEATERS. THIS WOULD REQUIRE SOME INCREASE IN SIZE OF INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES. BEHAVIOR OF POLICE AND GENDARMERIE HAD BEEN EXCELLENT IN THESSALONIKI, AND HE

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 2291A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
WAS NOW CONFIDENT OF SECURITY FORCES EVEN THOUGH THERE HAD BEEN SOME INFILTRATION BY LEFTIST ELEMENTS WHO MUST BE REMOVED AND REPLACED BY NATIONALISTS. THIS, HE ADDED RUEFULLY, WOULD COST MONEY WHICH GOG DOES NOT HAVE.

PRIMIN THEN SET FORTH IN VIGOROUS TERMS GOG'S NEED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. HE DESCRIBED CRUCIAL ASPECTS OF PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES AS PAYMENTS IMBALANCE AND SHORTFALL IN PUBLIC INVESTMENTS PROGRAM. HIS ARGUMENTATION FOLLOWED LINE SET FORTH IN LETTER (SEPTTEL). OF PARTICULAR INTEREST WAS HIS ASSERTION THAT RUN ON GOLD SOVEREIGN, STOPPED TWO MONTHS AGO, WAS AGAIN BEING STIMULATED BY ERE PRESS DESCRIPTIONS OF DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION IN COUNTRY. HE HIT HARD AT "IRRESPONSIBILITY" OF ERE PRESS.

IN DISCUSSING PUBLIC INVESTMENT PROGRAM, STEPHANOPOULOS RATED IT AS "OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE" AND ASSERTED ANY CUTBACK WOULD HAVE DISASTROUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. HE STATED FIRMLY GOG WOULD MAKE "EVERY ECONOMY" AND WOULD CARRY OUT STRINGENT AUSTERITY MEASURES INCLUDING INCREASED TAXATION RATE, TO BE ANNOUNCED AT POLITICALLY APPROPRIATE MOMENT. HE AGAIN ARGUED

PAGE FOUR RUQMAT 2291A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
THAT APPEAL TO IMF WOULD HAVE ADVERSE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON GREEK ECONOMY. IN ANY CASE, IMF-TYPE ASSISTANCE COULD ONLY HELP TIDE GOVERNMENT OVER NEXT FEW MONTHS, AND FOR THAT SORT OF AID GREECE WOULD DO BETTER TO APPROACH EUROPEAN FUND, WHICH IS SMALLER AND FROM WHICH HELP COULD BE OBTAINED MORE EASILY AND WITH

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-3- 693, October 30, from Athens, Section One of Two.

MINIMUM OF PUBLICITY. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT REAL GREEK NEED IS ASSISTANCE ON LONG TERM AND WITH LOW INTEREST AND SAID THAT FOR THIS GOG MUST TURN TO USG.

CENTRAL THRUST OF PRIMIN'S PRESENTATION WAS FRANKLY POLITICAL, HOWEVER. HE SAID THAT SINCE CRISIS HAD BROKEN OUT IN JULY COMMUNIST HAD GONE ALL OUT TO STRENGTHEN THEIR POSITION HERE. WHAT GOG NOW FACES, HE ARGUED, IS MAJOR EFFORT IN GREECE BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. HE DESCRIBED ELABORATE AND COSTLY PAPANDREOU RALLIES AND FIRMLY ASSERTED CU PARTY HAS BEEN GETTING MONEY FOR THESE FROM FOREIGN SOURCES, "SINCE GOVERNMENT "KNOWS" THAT LOCAL SOURCES NOT PROVIDING THESE FUNDS. IT TRUE THAT ELDER PAPANDREOU HAD ATTACKED EDA PARTY IN HIS RECENT PATRAS SPEECH, BUT SON ANDREAS HAD PROMPTLY SOUGHT TO MOLLIFY EXTREME LEFT BY STEPPING UP ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT. PRIMIN DECLARED YOUNGER PAPANDREOU TO BE LINK BETWEEN CENTER AND COMMUNISTS.

PAGE FIVE RUQMAT 2291A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ONLY WAY TO COUNTER THIS COMMUNIST UPSURGE, STEPHANOPOULOS CONTINUED, IS TO STRENGTHEN GOVERNMENT. PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS TOO WEAK WITH MAJORITY OF ONLY TWO AND, IN ANY EVENT, BROADER POPULAR BASIS MUST BE ESTABLISHED IF GOVERNMENT IS TO BE DEMOCRATIC AND NOT TOTALITARIAN. HE STATED THERE ARE NUMEROUS DEPUTIES NOW NOMINALLY LOYAL TO PAPANDREOU WHO WOULD JOIN GOVERNMENT IF THEY WERE CONFIDENT ELECTIONS WOULD NOT BE HELD IN NEAR FUTURE. IF GOVERNMENT RECEIVED AID FROM US THIS WOULD HAVE TREMENDOUS PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON SITUATION AND ENCOURAGE FALTERING CU DEPUTIES TO BACK GOVERNMENT. ANDREAS PAPANDREOU HAD ATTACKED POSSIBLE US ECONOMIC AID TO GREECE AS "INTERFERENCE IN GREECE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS," A STATEMENT THAT PROVED HIS THESIS. "AS IF EVERY GREEK GOVERNMENT SINCE 1947 HAD NOT REQUESTED US AID", PRIMIN COMMENTED.

TAL BOT

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SUMMARY

# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

82

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Action NNNNVV QMA837VV ATA330

NEA RR RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 2291/2A 3032115  
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Info R 301915Z

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1965 OCT 30 PM 7 32

SS FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
G TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC [693]  
SP INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 180  
SAH RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 162  
L RUHFPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 158  
SAL RUEHCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY  
EUR STATE GRNC  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SETWO OF TWO OCTOBER 30

USIA PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN

NSC STEPHANOPOULOS ALSO CRITICIZED ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS FOR  
INR UNDERMINING GOVERNMENT BY SPEAKING OUT FOR ELECTIONS. SUCH  
CIA TACTICS DETERRED WAVERING DEPUTIES IN CU FROM JOINING  
NSA GOVERNMENT. HE SAID HE PLANNED MEETINGS WITH MARKEZINIS (TONIGHT)  
DOD AND KANELLOPOULOS (MONDAY) TO PUT MATTERS SQUARELY ON LINE.  
NIC HE WOULD TELL THEM THAT IF THEY CONTINUED TO SPEAK FOR ELECTIONS,  
IGA HE WOULD DENOUNCE THEM OPENLY, THUS GIVING THEM CHOICE OF  
AID WITHDRAWING THEIR SUPPORT FROM GOVERNMENT OR RETREATING.  
STR PRIMIN ADDED THAT KING HAD HELPED GOVERNMENT'S CAUSE DURING  
E CHANCE MEETING WITH PAPANDREOU YESTERDAY BY TELLING PAPANDREOU  
THAT IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS WERE OUT OF QUESTION.

AGR WHEN AT CONCLUSION OF OUR TALK PRIMIN HANDED ME LETTER HE SAID  
COM HE WOULD LIKE MY COMMENTS IN SHORT TIME. HE SPOKE OF  
FRB GOVERNMENT'S CONFRONTATION WITH CU IN PARL NOVEMBER 15 ON QUESTION  
RSY OF ELECTION OF PARL PRESIDENT AND SAID IT WAS ESSENTIAL BEFORE  
XMB

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PAGE TWO RUQMAT 2291/2A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
THEN FOR GOG TO UNDERSTAND CLEARLY WHAT PROSPECTS OF US AID ARE.  
IF NO RPT NO US AID FORTHCOMING, THEN GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE ADVANCE  
KNOWLEDGE IN ORDER TO PREPARE PUBLIC OPINION. HE CONCLUDED,  
HOWEVER, THAT IF US AID DID NOT COME TO GREECE PROMPTLY, SITUATION  
WAS HOPELESS--THERE WOULD BE ECONOMIC CHAOS FOLLOWED BY POLITICAL  
DISASTER.

## COMMENT:

1. BULK OF PRIMIN'S ECONOMIC ARGUMENTATION IN ORAL PRESENTATION AND ACCOMPANYING LETTER IS ALREADY FAMILIAR TO DEPARTMENT.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 693, OCTOBER 30, SECTION TWO OF TWO, FROM: ATHENS

EMBASSY HAS PREVIOUSLY COMMENTED ON MANY OF THESE POINTS.  
IT IS ADDITIONALLY WORTH NOTING THAT:

(A) AS EXPLAINED EMBTELS 587 AND 635, GOG "OFFICIAL" RESERVES DO NOT INCLUDE SPECIAL GOLD FUND AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE HOLDINGS OF GREEK COMMERCIAL BANKS. IF THESE ARE INCLUDED, AS WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE, DECLINE IN GREEK RESERVES IN 1965 WILL BE APPROXIMATELY \$65 MILLION, NOT \$30 MILLION AS STATED BY PRIMIN. ALTERNATE MINISTER OF COORDINATION TSOUDARIS HAS PROMISED TO PROVIDE EMBASSY WITH LATEST BUDGETARY FIGURES WITHIN FEW DAYS.

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 2291/2A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(B) REFERENCE TO "EXPECTED US CONTRIBUTION OF \$5-10 MILLION IN NATO DEFENSE SUPPORT FOR 1965 IGNORES OUR EXPLANATION TO BANK OF GREECE OFFICIALS (EMBTEL 590) THAT AUGUST 6, 1963 AIDE MEMOIRE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDED SUCH ASSISTANCE FOR 1965. IN EXAMINING ALL POSSIBILITIES FOR MEETING CURRENT GREEK PROBLEM, AS REQUESTED EMBTEL 645, DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO TAKE FRESH LOOK AT THIS QUESTION.

(C) GOG HAS IN FACT TAKEN STEPS TO REDUCE IMPORT OF CONSUMER GOODS BY INCREASING REQUIRED DOWN PAYMENTS, AND EFFECT OF THESE MEASURES NOW UNQUESTIONABLY BEING FELT, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO AUTOMOBILES.

2. ON RELATED QUESTION OF PL 480 TITLE IV SALES RAISED IN MINISTER OF COORDINATION'S LETTER (EMBTEL 695) EMBASSY ADHERES TO ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN EMBTEL 644. AS COMPARED TO GOG ESTIMATE NEEDS OF 370,000 TONS OF FEEDGRAINS FOR BALANCE US FY 66, WE BELIEVE 245,000 TONS MORE REALISTIC ESTIMATE OF MINIMUM IMPORT REQUIREMENTS. OF THIS WE CONSIDER 200,000 TONS SHOULD BE CORN INCLUDING REQUIREMENTS STARCH INDUSTRY.

(3) EMBASSY REMAINS CONVINCED THAT GREEK ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE REAL AND DEEP-SEATED AND THAT GREECE WILL NEED EFFECTIVE AND PROMPT EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE IF GENUINE CRISIS IS TO BE AVERTED. AFTER SEVERAL YEARS OF RAPID GROWTH WITHOUT CORRESPONDING INCREASES OF EXPORTS THIS ECONOMY HAS BECOME CLEARLY OVERHEATED. IT HAS NOW REACHED A STAGE OF HIGH VULNERABILITY IN TERMS BOTH OF EXTERNAL OBLIGATIONS AND OF DRACHMAE AVAILABILITIES FOR CAPITAL

PAGE FOUR RUQMAT 2291/2A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
DEVELOPMENT, DEFENSE AND OTHER PROGRAMS. IN A STRONGER POLITICAL SITUATION GOG COULD PERHAPS WITHSTAND IMPACT OF MEASURES OF

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- 693, OCTOBER 30, SECTION TWO OF TWO, FROM: ATHENS

ECONOMIC DISCIPLINE NECESSARY TO BRING ECONOMY BACK INTO HEALTHY BALANCE WITHOUT AT SAME TIME UNDERMINING CONFIDENCE AND INDUCING FLIGHT FROM DRACHMA. FRAGILITY OF CURRENT SITUATION IS SUCH THAT GOG WOULD PROBABLY BE BROUGHT TO POINT OF COLLAPSE IF IT ATTEMPTED TO TAKE SUCH MEASURES. THIS DILEMMA UNDERLIES GOG APPEAL FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AT THIS JUNCTURE.

4. AS COMPARED TO HIS EARLIER PRESENTATION TO ME, PRIMIN TODAY SHOWED MORE (THOUGH STILL MODEST) CONFIDENCE POLITICAL TIDE BEGINNING TO TURN IN HIS FAVOR AND MORE ROBUST READINESS TO TAKE ON BOTH HIS FOES (PAPANDREOUS) AND SOME AT LEAST OF HIS HASSLING SUPPORTERS (KANELLOPOULOS AND MARKEZINIS) HE AGAIN TALKED OF THROWING IN HIS HAND IF HE COULD NOT GAIN MORE PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORTERS BUT HIS ACCENT WAS ON FIGHTING TO SURVIVE.

I HAVE DO DOUBT PRIMIN CLEARLY FORESEES THAT ANY US AID DECISION-- WHETHER YES , NO, OR TELL YOU LATER--WILL HAVE DIRECT EFFECT ON POLITICAL MANEUVERING IN NEXT WEEKS BETWEEN HIS FORCES AND PAPANDREOU'S. QUESTION FOR US IS HOW TO BALANCE RELEVANT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN FRAMING RESPONSE TO GOG REQUESTS.

PAGE FIVE RUQMAT 2291/2A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6. I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE OUR INTEREST WILL BEST BE SERVED IN THIS FRAGILE SITUATION BY MIX OF ACTIONS RECOMMENDED EMBTEL 645 AND PARTICULARLY BY VERY QUICK PL 480 AGREEMENT ACCOMPANIED BY STATED READINESS TO PURSUE SYMPATHETIC EXAMINATION OF OTHER WAYS USG AND OTHER EXTERNAL SOURCES COULD HELP GOG FACE ITS PROBLEMS.

7. PRIMIN HAD ALREADY ACCEPTED MY INVITATION TO LUNCH ON NOVEMBER 3. HE SAID TODAY HE WOULD LIKE TO COME ALONE SO THAT I COULD DISCUSS USG REACTIONS AND RESPONSE TO GREEK SITUATION WITH COMPLETE FRANKNESS. DEPARTMENT GUIDANCE REQUESTED BEFORE THAT DATE. MEANWHILE I HAVE TOLD PRIMIN ONLY THAT HIS NEW APPEAL WOULD BE TRANSMITTED IMMEDIATELY TO WASHINGTON WHERE QUESTIONS HE RAISED ALREADY BEING CAREFULLY STUDIED.

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### Processing Note

There is no longer a document #8a in this file. Document #8a was determined to be a mis-filed document. It has been removed from NSF, Country File, "Greece, Vol. I," re-numbered (#53-1) and placed in the NSF, Country File, "Jordan, Vol. II," Box 146.

Charlaine McCauley  
Archivist  
6/26/03

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~~SECRET~~ OCTOBER 19 SECTION ONE OF TWO

LIMDIS

REF: EMBTEL 597

IN PAST WEEK EMBASSY HAS INTENSIVELY REVIEWED PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DYNAMICS IN GREECE AND POSSIBLE INSTRUMENTS AVAILABLE TO MITIGATE ADVERSE TRENDS. WHILE PICTURE HAS MANY UNCERTAINTIES AND WHILE INDEED OUR INFORMATION HAS MANY GAPS, I HAVE REACHED FOLLOWING CURRENT CONCLUSIONS:

1. STRAINS ON GREEK POLITICAL FABRIC ARE MORE SEVERE TODAY THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE RECOVERY FROM CIVIL WAR AND MAY NOT

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2113A/1 ~~SECRET~~  
BE CONTAINABLE. WITH FAR RIGHT AND, MORE AGGRESSIVELY, FAR LEFT NIBBLING AT EDGES, FRACTURED CENTER IS ENMESHED IN UNCOMPROMISING POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN FOXY OLD PAPANDREOU AND THOSE FORMER COLLEAGUES WHO HAVE DARED OPPOSE HIM AND SON ANDREAS. AS RESULT, GREECE IS NOW WEAKLY GOVERNED. NOR IS ANY SUBSTANTIALLY STRONGER GOVERNMENT IN PROSPECT.

2. ULTIMATELY, THIS STRUGGLE OF CENTER FORCES MUST BE TAKEN TO ELECTORATE. THERE IS SUBSTANCE, HOWEVER, IN FEARS HELD BY OPPONENTS OF PAPANDREOUS THAT ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN PRESENT TENSE ATMOSPHERE WOULD UNDERMINE IF NOT DESTROY EFFECTIVENESS OF GREEK POLITICAL CENTER FOR YEARS TO COME AND OPEN FIELD TO LEFT-RIGHT DICHOTOMY OF SORT GREECE HAS SO CALAMITOUSLY EXPERIENCED BEFORE.

3. KEY TO AVOIDING THAT PROSPECT IN NEXT FEW MONTHS IS ABILITY OF PRESENT GOVERNMENT OR ONE LIKE IT TO MUSTER SUPPORT OF WORKABLE MAJORITY OF DEPUTIES WHEN PARLIAMENT RECONVENES NOVEMBER 15. WITH CURRENT 152-148 EDGE TENUOUSLY BASED

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Authority FRUS Vol. XVI, #204  
By cbm, NARA, Date 6-24-03



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-2- 645. October 19 from Athens (Section one of two )

ON ALLIANCE OF AMBITIOUS RIVALS BROUGHT TOGETHER BY COMMON OPPOSITION TO PAPANDREOU AND TO IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS, IT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR STEPHANOPOULOS TO OVERCOME TIMIDITY OF OTHER

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2113A/1 ~~SECRET~~

DEPUTIES WHO ARE SAID TO WANT TO BOLT PAPANDREOU BUT TO FEAR THEY WOULD BE DEAD DUCKS IF HE SUCCEEDED FORCING EARLY ELECTIONS. OUTCOME DEPENDS ON CONFIDENCE CURRENT GOVERNMENT CAN GENERATE IN ITS SURVIVABILITY.

4. MEANWHILE GREECE IS SLIDING INTO SHARP DOUBLE-HEADED ECONOMIC STRAINS, ON WHICH EMBASSY HAS COMMENTED IN SERIES OF RECENT MESSAGES. ON INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS FRONT, FIRM FISCAL MANAGEMENT, EMPHASIS ON IMPORT SUBSTITUTES (E.G., IN MEAT PRODUCTION) AND OTHER MEASURES SHOULD IN LONG RUN STAND GOOD CHANCE OF RESTORING FAVORABLE PAYMENTS BALANCE ON WHICH REMARKABLE GREEK DEVELOPMENT HAS RESTED SINCE CURRENCY REFORM OF 1953. HOWEVER, TREND OF DECLINING RESERVES IN RELATION TO EXTERNAL OBLIGATIONS PROBABLY CANNOT BE CORRECTED THIS YEAR BY MEASURES GOG CAPABLE OF TAKING. SERIOUS PAYMENTS DIFFICULTIES LOOM JUST AHEAD. I AM ASSURED THESE COULD GRAVELY UNDERMINE CONFIDENCE OF FRACHMA IF GOG UNABLE TO FIND NECESSARY FINANCIAL RESOURCES OR IF ACCOMPANIED BY POLITICAL TURBULENCE HERE.

5. CONDITION OF DOMESTIC ECONOMY ALSO CAUSING ANXIETY AS FISCAL STRINGENCY BECOMES ACUTE. SEEDS OF TROUBLE LIE IN SOME LONG-TERM FACTORS, BUT ARE ACCENTUATED BY UNCOVERED COSTS

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2113A/1 ~~SECRET~~

OF PAPANDREOU ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS AND BY VERY LARGE WHEAT SURPLUS PRODUCED BY LAST YEAR'S GOOD WEATHER AND HIGH SUBSIDIES. ADMINISTRATIVE IMMOBILITY REFLECTING POLITICAL PARALYSIS OF RECENT MONTHS HAS ALSO HAD EFFECT. GOG HAS ALREADY CUT BACK CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND MAY SHORTLY HAVE TO INTERRUPT WORK OR AT LEAST PAYMENTS ON SOME ONGOING PROJECTS UNLESS NEW RESOURCES FOUND. WHILE ECONOMY STILL LOOKS REASONABLY GOOD TO ORDINARY MAN, IT IS IN FACT HIGHLY VULNERABLE TO ECONOMIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SHOCKS.

6. GOG DEFENSE POLICIES AND FOREIGN POLICIES DO NOT AT PRESENT TIME SHOW SIGNS OF DETERIORATION SIMILAR TO THOSE

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-3- 645 October 19 from Athens (Section one of Two )

EVIDENT ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRONTS. GREECE CONTINUES TO WAFFLE WEAKLY ON CYPRUS QUESTION, BUT THAT IS OLD STORY.. A NEW CYPRUS CRISIS THIS FALL WOULD OF COURSE FURTHER COMPLICATE DOMESTIC SITUATION HERE.

7. IN SUM, GREECE FACES IMMINENT AND HEAVY PRESSURES ON STABILITY AND PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN PAST DOZEN YEARS. AMONG LIMITING AND HARDLY SATISFACTORY POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES AVAILABLE, I NOW BELIEVE THESE PRESSURES WOULD BEST BE RESISTED BY CONTINUATION FOR SOME MONTHS OF CENTRIST GOVERNMENT WITHOUT

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 2113A/1 ~~SECRET~~

PAPANDREOUS. EVEN IF PAPANDREOUS SHOULD BE RETURNED TO POWER IN ELECTIONS SOMETIME IN 1966, GOVERNMENT THEN HEADED BY THEM MIGHT BE LESS UNSETTLING TO GREECE AND TO OUR RELATIONS WITH GREECE THAN IF THEY WERE TO RIDE INTO OFFICE ON TODAY'S EMOTIONAL TIDES.

8. AS INDICATED ABOVE, I BELIEVE THERE IS SMALL HOPE OF AVERTING POLITICAL CRISIS UNLESS MEASURES TAKEN TO CONTAIN WORST OF ECONOMIC STRAINS. GOG HAS ALREADY COMMITTED ITSELF TO SOME DIFFICULT STEPS, E.G., ITS DECISION TO SUBSTITUTE 100,000 TONS OF WHEAT FOR IMPORTED CORN FEED. OFFICIALS TELL US GOG IS CRANKING UP TO TAKE OTHER STEPS (EMBTel 644), BUT WITHIN LIFE EXPECTANCY OF PRESENT GOG THESE AT BEST WILL BE AMELIORATIVE RATHER THAN CORRECTIVE. EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH MEASURES MAY IN FACT DEPEND, AS GOG ARGUES, ON GREECE'S ABILITY TO GET SOME EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE. I BELIEVE ANY SUCH AID AT THIS STAGE SHOULD BE PRECISELY FOCUSED ON IMMEDIATE FISCAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ITS OBJECT WOULD BE TO GET PROMPT ECONOMIC EFFECT AND TO INDICATE CONTINUED SYMPATHETIC INTEREST IN GREECE. IT WOULD THUS IMPROVE PSYCHOLOGICAL CLIMATE IN WHICH STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT STRUGGLING TO MEET MOST URGENT PROBLEMS, BUT IF WELL HANDLED WOULD NOT COST US INFLUENCE WITH SUCCESSORS IF STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT SHOULD SUBSEQUENTLY BE OVERTHROWN. ENSUING PARAGRAPHS DISCUSS POSSIBILITIES AND IDENTIFY THOSE I RECOMMEND.

GP-2 TALBOT

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**SUMMARY**

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~SECRET~~ OCTOBER 19 SECTION TWO OF TWO

LIMDIS

REF: EMBTEL 597

9. TO EASE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS STRAINS, NEITHER IMPORTS NOR EXPORTS LOOK AMENABLE TO CONSTRUCTIVE MANIPULATION IN SHORT TERM. GOG HAS FOCUSED ON GETTING USAID PROGRAM LOAN AS TIDIEST INSTRUMENT AMONG AVAILABLE LEVERS TO MEET COMBINED PROBLEM OF INTERNATIONAL PAYMENTS, DRACHMA SHORTAGE IN INVESTMENT BUDGET, AND PSYCHIC REQUIREMENT TO AVERT SLUMP IN CONFIDENCE OF TRADERS AND MONEY MARKET. GREEKS HAVE CONSIDERED BUT, AS DEPARTMENT KNOWS, STRONGLY RESISTED DRAWING IMF TRANCHE ON GROUNDS IT WOULD HAVE REVERSE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT. (ZOLOTAS SAYS IMF STAFF AGREES.) I AM NOT SURE THEY HAVE YET LOOKED HARD ENOUGH AT POSSIBILITY

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 2113A/2 ~~SECRET~~  
OF GETTING RELIEF THIS WINTER THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS WITH EXIM, WORLD BANK OR OECD CONSORTIUM. IN VIEW OF URGENCY OF PROBLEM, EMBASSY URGING GOG TO EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES, NOT JUST US PROGRAM LOAN, AND TO APPLY ANY MEASURE OF DISCIPLINE PERMITTED BY EXIGENCIES OF SITUATION. I DO NOT YET SEE HOW GOG CAN OVERCOME SHORT-TERM PAYMENTS CRUNCH AND WOULD WELCOME DEPT'S SUGGESTIONS.

10. TO MEET GROWING SHORTAGE OF DRACHMAE AVAILABLE FOR UPCOMING COMMITMENTS, GOG CAN CHOOSE ONE OR MIXTURE OF SEVERAL COURSES: MORATORIUM ON NEW CAPITAL WORKS AND SLOW-DOWN OF CURRENT CAPITAL BUDGET PROJECTS, CUT IN MILITARY OUTLAYS, OR NEGOTIATIONS OF NEW DRACHMA-GENERATING LOANS. NATURALLY IT IS LOOKING TO LATTER, THOUGH CAPITAL WORKS WILL ALSO BE SLOWED.

11. ON PARTICULAR PROBLEM OF GRAIN PRODUCTION AND NEEDS, GOG IS PROGRESSING WITH PLANS FORHANDLING A CONSIDERABLE PART OF ITS WHEAT SURPLUS BY DESIGNATING 150,000 TONS FOR DISTRIBUTION

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-2- 645, OCT 19, from ATHENS (SEC 2 OF 2)

IN MOUNTAIN VILLAGES, 1000,000 TONS FOR POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK FEEDING, AND REMAINDER FOR SALE ABROAD. ULTIMATELY SEVERAL HUNDRED THOUSAND TONS LIKELY BE SOLD TO FOREIGN BUYERS, WITH GOOD CHANCE THAT BLOC COUNTRIES WILL TAKE SUBSTANTIAL PART. BEST

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 2113A/2 ~~SECRET~~  
ESTIMATE OF AG ATTACHE IS THAT GOG CANNOT IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES SUCCEED IN COMING YEAR IN DISPLACING AS MUCH AS 100,000 TONS OF CORN WITH WHEAT FOR FEED. THUS IN EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT GOG WILL REQUIRE 200,000 TONS OF IMPORTED CORN TO MEET NEEDS OF STARCH, POULTRY AND CATTLE PRODUCERS.

12. TAKING ALL FACTORS INTO ACCOUNT, I RECOMMEND FOLLOWING USG DECISIONS AS URGENT NEXT STEPS TO HELP LIMIT RISKS OF MAJOR POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC TURBULENCE THIS WINTER AND TO ENCOURAGE CONSTRUCTIVE TRENDS WITHOUT ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR COSTS OF MISTAKEN PAST GREEK POLICIES:

- AS SOLE PRACTICAL ECONOMIC GESTURE AT THIS TIME, TO OFFER 150,000 TONS OF CORN BY PL 480 SALE TITLE IV PLUS 50,000 TONS UNDER "USUAL MARKETING" TO MEET FULL REQUIREMENTS OF STARCH INDUSTRY AND ABOUT ONE HALF REQUIREMENTS OF POULTRY AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS HERETOFORE MET BY CORN. DETAILS OF SUGGESTED AGREEMENT SPELLED OUT IN SEPARATE TELEGRAM. THIS ACTION IF TAKEN PROMPTLY WOULD HELP GOG HOLD DOWN PAYMENTS DEFICIT AND MEET SUBSTANTIAL PART OF PRODUCERS' DEMANDS FOR TRADITIONAL FEEDGRAINS WHILE FORCING GREEKS TO START ADAPTING TO SOFT WHEAT AS FEEDGRAIN. IT WOULD HELPFULLY BE READ AS SIGN OF CONTINUED US BELIEF IN

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 2113A/2 ~~SECRET~~  
AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF GREECE. TO PRODUCE MAXIMUM POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EFFECT I URGE THAT SUCH AGREEMENT BE CONCLUDED OR INTENTION TO CONCLUDE SUCH AGREEMENT BE ANNOUNCED BEFORE CONVENING OF PARLIAMENT ON NOVEMBER 13.

B. TO EXAMINE CAREFULLY WITH GOG ALL LIKELY SOURCES OF PROMPT INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE OTHER THAN USAID LOANS AND TO SUPPORT REASONABLE GREEK REQUESTS OF PROSPECTIVE LENDERS.

C. TO BEGIN CONSIDERATION OF DIRECT US CONCESSIONAL LOANS, WITH EXPECTATION DECISION COULD BE MADE AS SITUATION EVOLVES FURTHER IN COMING WEEKS.

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-3- 645, OCT 19, from ATHENS (SEC 2 OF 2)

D. TO POSTPONE CONSIDERATION OF GREEK FEELERS FOR INVITATION TO PRIMIN TO VISIT WASHINGTON UNTIL WE SEE SITUATION AFTER PARLIAMENT RECONVENES AND AFTER UNGA CONSIDERS CYPRUS (UNLESS, AS NOW SEEMS HIGHLY UNLIKELY, GREEKS IN MEANTIME COME UP WITH NEW IDEAS ON CYPRUS THAT WE WOULD WISH TO DISCUSS WITH THEM).

E. TO TIDY UP CERTAIN REQUESTS WE HAVE PENDING WITH GREEKS. WITH AGREEMENT FOR VOA GAMMA SITE NOW CONFIRMED BY STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT, TOP PRIORITY IS SETTLING MARATHON JOINT-USE LAND ISSUE. TO AVOID FURTHER ENCROACHMENTS AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES,

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 2113A/2 ~~SECRET~~

I STRONGLY RECOMMEND WE REQUEST GOG PROMPTLY EXPROPRIATE THESE LANDS WITH COSTS TO BE BORNE BY USG. ACQUISITION OF ADDITIONAL 27 ACRES FOR USE FOR PERSONNEL HOUSING AT USAF BASE AT HERAKLION IS ALSO PRESSING NEED. BY ACTING PROMPTLY WE CAN PROFIT FROM PRESENT READINESS GOG TO BE ACCOMMODATING AND AT SAME TIME US DOLLAR PAYMENTS INVOLVED IN THESE TRANSACTIONS WOULD PROVIDE ADDITIONAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE FOR GREEK RESERVES.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~SECRET~~ SEPTEMBER 30 SECTION ONE OF TWO

L I M I T D I S T R I B U T I O N

I CALLED YESTERDAY ON PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS.

037

STEPHANOPOULOS OPENED BY EMPHASIZING THAT HE HAD NOT SOUGHT HIS PRESENT POST AND THAT HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS AS TO DIMENSIONS OF DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING GOVT. HE FINDS HIMSELF, HE SAID, BETWEEN GANGSTERS (PAPANDREOUS) AND BLACKMAILERS (MEMBERS OF HIS GOVT JOCKEYING FOR POSITION). HE HAD CONVOKED MEETING OF 45 FORMER MEMBERS OF CU SUPPORTING PRESENT GOVT TO EXPLAIN "HE IS NOT JESUS CHRIST" AND THAT HE CANNOT FEED ALL THE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1781A ~~SECRET~~  
HUNGRY GREEK POLITICIANS WITH THE FEW LOAVES AND FISHES PROVIDED BY AVAILABLE CABINET POSITIONS. ANYONE NOT PREPARED ACCEPT HIS LEADERSHIP IS WELCOME TO PREMIERSHIP. HE IS PREPARED TO STEP ASIDE AT ANY MOMENT AND WOULD SUPPORT ANYONE SELECTED TO SUCCEED HIM PROVIDED PRECEDURE FALLS WITHIN LEGAL CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK.

CURROA SITUATION IN WHICH GOVT IS OPERATING ON BASIS OF TWO-VOTE MAJORITY IS ULTIMATELY IMPOSSIBLE. IF GOVT'S MAJORITY IS NOT INCREASED TO APPROXIMATELY TEN HE WILL NOT PRESENT HIMSELF BEFORE PARLIAMENT WHEN IT CONVENES ON 15TH OF NOVEMBER AND HE HAS SO INFORMED KING. THERE IS HOPE, HOWEVER, ADDITIONAL ADHERENTS WILL BE FOUND.

REGARDING ACTIVITIES OF OPPOSITION FORCES (PAPANDREOU AND EDA), HE SAID THERE WOULD BE NO OBSTACLES PLACED IN THEIR PATH SO LONG AS THEIR ACTIVITIES REMAIN WITHIN THE LAW. MOREOVER, HE IS NOT PREPARED YIELD TO PRESSURES FROM ERELAZ REVERT TO POLICE MEASURES EMPLOYED DURING CARAMANLIS REGIME. IF, HOWEVER, PAPANDREOU-EDA FORCES RESORT TO VIOLENCE HE IS PREPARED REACT WITH FIRMNESS.

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 03-302

By *iso*, NARA, Date *2-23-04*



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-2- 539, SEPTEMBER 30, FROM ATHENS. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

STEPHANOPOULOS WAS CRITICAL OF MANNER IN WHICH CURRENT CRISIS

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1781A ~~SECRET~~

HAD BEEN HANDLED BY PALACE. HE MAINTAINED THAT IT WOULD NOW BE DESIRABLE FOR KING TO MAKE CERTAIN SACRIFICES WITH VIEW TO REDUCING PUBLIC CRITICISM. HE SUGGESTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT GEN. GENNIMATAS MIGHT BE REPLACED WITHIN FORESEEABLE FUTURE. HE HAD POINTED OUT TO KING THAT CURRENT STRENGTH OF PAPANDREOU'S POSITION DERIVED NOT SO MUCH FROM PERSONAL POPULARITY OF PAPANDREOU AS FROM LATENT ANTI-ROYALISM WHICH PAPANDREOU HAS BEEN PERMITTED CLEVERLY TO EXPLOIT. HE HAD ALSO SUGGESTED TO KING IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR HIM TO LIVE MODESTLY IN MANNER WHICH WOULD AVOID UNFAVORABLE COMMENT. ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS AGREED WITH HIM IN THIS MATTER BUT KANELLOPOULOS HAD NOT SAID AS MUCH TO KING. KING AND QUEEN PERSONALLY COMMAND A CERTAIN POPULARITY BECAUSE THEY ARE YOUNG AND ATTRACTIVE BUT QUEEN MOTHER IS NOT LIKED AND KING WOULD DO WELL TO UNDERSTAND THIS FACT. STEPHANOPOULOS SAID THAT WHILE HE EXPECTED COMPLETELY TO DISCHARGE HIS DUTIES AS A COUNSELOR TO KING, HE HAD NO INTENTION OF BECOMING A "KING'S MAN." HIS PURPOSE IS TO CREATE SITUATION OF STABILITY AND TRANQUILITY IN WHICH ELECTIONS WOULD BECOME POSSIBLE. IF HE IS ABLE TO ACHIEVE THIS HE WILL ADVISE KING IN THIS

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 1781A ~~SECRET~~

SENSE AND THAT A SERVICE GOVERNMENT SHOULD THEN BE CREATED FOR PURPOSE OF HOLDING ELECTIONS. (COMMENT: STEPHANOPOULOS HAS NEVER FORGOTTEN NOR PRESUMABLY FORGIVEN PALACE FOR HAVING DESIGNATED CARAMANLIS INSTEAD OF HIMSELF AS PRIMIN FOLLOWING DEATH OF PAPAGOS TEN YEARS AGO.)

STEPHANOPOULOS SPOKE BITTERLY OF ANDREAS PAPANDREOU WHOM HE ACCUSED OF EMPLOYING GANGSTER METHODS AND SUFFERING FROM CONSPIRATORIAL MENTALITY. ANDREAS HAD ORGANIZED DISGRACEFUL DEMONSTRATION IN PARL BY DOZEN LEFT-WING CU DEPUTIES WHEN STEPHANOPOULOS WAS PRESENTING HIS GOVT'S PROGRAM. BOTH IN GOVT AND OUT ANDREAS SPENT MAJOR PORTION OF HIS TIME IN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONSPIRACY AND IN ATTEMPTING DEVELOP POSITION OF STRENGTH IN ARMY AND KYP. ANDREAS, HE ASSERTED, WAS PRINCIPALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR FORCING SITUATION TO CRISIS. ACCORDING INTELLIGENCE REPORTS, EDA AND COMMUNISTS WERE APPARENTLY NOT EAGER TO BRING MATTERS TO A HEAD UNTIL SOMETIME NEXT YEAR, PREFERRING IN MEANTIME TO PERFECT THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL CAPABILITIES. ANDREAS, HOWEVER, PRESUMABLY APPREHENSIVE THAT HIS FATHER MIGHT LOSE POLITICAL POWER, BECOME SICK, OR DIE INSISTED ON ACCELERATING SITUATION AND HIS INFLUENCE WITH HIS FATHER WAS CONSISTENTLY USED TO PREVENT

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-3- 539, SEPTEMBER 30, FROM ATHENS. (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 1781A ~~SECRET~~

COMPROMISE. STEPHANOPOULOS ALSO COMMENTED ON ANDREAS' CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNISTS, PRINCIPALLY THROUGH KYRKOS (EDITOR OF ERJREAS' NEW PAPER ANENDOTOS) AND ON FACT THAT DESPITE SIGNIFICANT MONTHLY LOSSES MONEY IS ALWAYS AVAILABLE TO COVER THE DEFICIT OF ANENDOTOS.

STEPHANOPOULOS REFERRED TO DANGEROUS ECONOMIC SITUATION AND MENTIONED VISIT OF ZOLOTAS, PRESENTLY IN WASHINGTON. GREECE IS NOT ONLY APPROACHING CRITICAL MOMENT FROM POINT OF VIEW OF ITS FOREIGN EXCHANGE POSITION BUT DRACHMA PUBLIC INVESTMENT BUDGET HAS ALSO HAD TO BE SEVERELY CURTAILED. US MUST NOW DECIDE WHETHER GREECE AND SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO ARE OF REAL IMPORTANCE. US IS, OF COURSE, HEAVILY ENGAGED IN ASIA AND THERE ARE THOSE WHO ASSERT THAT US HAS REACHED A LEVEL OF ACCOMMODATION WITH SOVIETS WHICH MAKES NATO AND GREECE PROGRESSIVELY LESS IMPORTANT. IS ASSURED HIM US WELL AWARE THAT ANY WILLINGNESS OF SOVIET UNION TO FIND ACCOMMODATION WITH WEST IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO FORCE WHICH WEST IS PREPARED TO CONFRONT SOVIETS; THAT I WAS SURE NEITHER HE NOR I HAD ANY ILLUSIONS IN THIS MATTER. HE SAID IN HIS OPINION ANDREAS AND HIS ASSOCIATES ARE PREPARED RELAX GREECE'S

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~SECRET~~ SEPTEMBER 30

SECTION TWO OF TWO

L I M I T D I S T R I B U T I O N

037

ASSOCIATION WITH NATO AND SEEK A NON-ALIGNED POSITION. THEIR ATTITUDE IS SYMPATHETIC TO NASSER-TITO TECHNIQUE OF BUILDING SOCIALIST ECONOMY BASED ON SUPPORT OF INDIGENOUS MILITARY FORCES. IN US IS NOT PREPARED TO CONTEMPLATE SUCH A DEVELOPMENT IN GREECE AND IF US IS NOT PREPARED ACCEPT GROWTH IN ANTI-AMERICANISM IN GREECE, THEN IT MUST CONSIDER WHAT CAN BE DONE TO HELP GREEK GOVT AT THIS TIME. COST OF PRO-

PHYLACTION MEASURES IS INFINITELY SMALLER THAN COST OF THERAPEUTIC REMEDIES.

THERE IS ALSO IN THIS COUNTRY, STEPHANOPOULOS CONTINUED, AN IMPORTANT GROUP OF PEOPLE FOR WHOM WITHDRAWAL OF GREECE FROM NATO AND CREATION OF SOCIALISTIC REGIME WOULD BE AN INTOLERABLE DEVELOPMENT. THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT A DE FACTO DICTATORSHIP BY ANDREAS EVEN THOUGH IT BE CONCEALED IN PARLIAMENTARY FORM. (COMMENT: STEPHANOPOULOS WAS PRESUMABLY REFERRING TO SITUATION IN WHICH ELECTIONS IN NEAR FUTURE RETURNED PAPANDREOU TO POWER.) HE, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH ANY EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION. STEPHANOPOULOS SAID HE BELIEVES KING APPRECIATES THAT AN UNDEMOCRATIC SOLUTION WOULD BE A DISASTER, BUT THAT HE IS NOT SURE KING WOULD BE IN POSITION TO PREVENT OR CONTROL SUCH DEVELOPMENT. KANELLOPOULOS AND MARKEZINIS HAVE BOTH MENTIONED TO HIM THEIR APPREHENSIONS THAT CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN COUNTRY MIGHT BE TEMPTED TO FIND MILITARY SOLUTION TO ITS PROBLEMS.

COMMENT: STEPHANOPOULOS MADE NO ALLUSION TO POSSIBLE VISIT TO UN AND WASHINGTON. HE TALKED FOR ALMOST AN HOUR WITH GREAT FRANKNESS AND RATHER UNCHARACTERISTIC FORCEFULNESS. WHILE I AM CERTAIN THAT PICTURE HE POINTED WAS INTENDED TO REFLECT SITUATION IN MANNER BEST CALCULATED EVOKE SYMPATHETIC US ASSISTANCE, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT HE WAS SPEAKING WITH REAL SINCERITY. NOR WOULD I BE PREPARED TO CHALLENGE BROAD PERSPECTIVES OF PICTURE HE PAINTS.

GP-1. ANSCHUETZ

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

47

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Action

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 535  
INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 141  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 153  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 135  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 30 SECTION 1 OF 2

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN.

I CALLED ON CU LEADER GEORGE PAPANDREOU AT HIS HOME YESTERDAY.

RECALLING PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS THERE WHICH HAD OFTEN BEEN DOMINATED BY CYPRUS PROBLEM, I INQUIRED HOW HE VIEWED PRESENT PROSPECTS FOR SETTLEMENT. PAPANDREOU REPLIED PROSPECTS DIM BECAUSE NEITHER MAKARIOS, TURKS, NOR GREEKS "ARE WILLING TO GIVE ANYTHING." THUS ONLY REALISTIC APPROACH IS TO RECOGNIZE THAT ENOSIS IS NOT ATTAINABLE IN NEAR FUTURE AND TO ACCEPT SOME FORM OF INDEPENDENCE, BUT NOT BASED ON LONDON-ZURICH.

PAPANDREOU THEN SET FORTH AT LENGTH HIS WELL-KNOWN VIEWS ON

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1764A/1 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS. HE EMPHATICALLY DENIED FREQUENTLY HEARD ALLEGATION THAT HIS SON ANDREAS IS STRONGLY INFLUENCED BY LEFTIST LEADER KYRKOS AND THAT HE HIMSELF IN TURN IS UNDER INFLUENCE OF HIS SON. PAPANDREOU DEVELOPED THEME THAT, IN FACT, HE IS BEST DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM AND MOST EFFECTIVE PROTECTOR OF THRONE SINCE IF HE WERE NOT PRESENT TO LEAD PEOPLE, POPULAR INDIGNATION AGAINST PALACE AND "DEFECTORS" WOULD DRIVE MASSES INTO ARMS OF COMMUNISTS. HE INSISTED EARLY ELECTIONS ARE BEST MEANS OF SEPARATING HIS OWN FOLLOWERS FROM COMMUNISTS INASMUCH AS EACH PARTY WOULD HAVE ITS OWN ELECTORAL LIST. HE ADMITTED THAT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS DIFFICULT DISTINGUISH LEFT FROM CENTER SINCE BOTH GROUPS ATTEND HIS RALLIES THUS FORMING "POPULAR FRONT AT BASE." HE POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS PUBLICLY DENIED HE IS RAISING REGIME QUESTION OR FORMING POPULAR FRONT. HE REPEATED

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E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 03-302

By na, NARA, Date 2-23-04

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-2- 535, September 30 (SECTION 1 OF 2), From: Athens

THAT EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD BE BEST GUARANTEE AGAINST SUCH DEVELOPMENTS.

PAPANDREOU SHARPLY ATTACKED 45 CU "DEFECTORS," MAINTAINING THAT NONE OF HIS GROUP STOOD CHANCE OF RE-ELECTION. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRESENT GOVT TO STAND FOR ANY LENGTH OF TIME SINCE IN ADDITION TO "POPULAR INDIGNATION" AGAINST

IT THERE ARE ALREADY SIGNS OF FALLING OUT AMONG VARIOUS MINISTERS, ALL OF WHOM ARE SCHEMING TO ADVANCE THEIR OWN AMBITIONS. PAPANDREOU ASSERTED STEPHANOPOULOS DID NOT HAVE STRONG ENOUGH PERSONALITY TO CONTINUE AS LEADER IN SUCH ADVERSE CIRCUMSTANCES. ALTHOUGH HE NOTED TSIRIMOKOS MIGHT HAVE DONE BETTER.

CU LEADER DISCLAIMED ANY POLITICAL AMBITION FOR HIMSELF. HE HAD SPENT 45 OF HIS 50 YEARS IN POLITICS IN OPPOSITION ROLE AND PREFERRED TO BE WAGING BATTLE RATHER THAN DIRECTING GOVT. HIS LAST TWO YEARS IN OFFICE HAD BEEN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT WITH CYPRUS CRISIS THREATENING THROUGHOUT PERIOD TO ERUPT INTO GREEK-TURKISH WAR. CONSEQUENTLY, HE DOES NOT SEEK FOR REASONS OF PERSONAL AMBITION TO RETURN TO POWER BUT SIMPLY TO TAKE COUNTRY OUT OF ITS PRESENT DILEMMA. EFFECTS OF EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD BE EXTREMELY BENEFICIAL SINCE IN ADDITION TO SEPARATING EDA FROM CENTER, IT WOULD RELAX TENSION AMONG PARTIES. PAPANDREOU ADDED THAT FOLLOWING HIS VICTORY AT POLLS (WHICH HE CONSIDERED INEVITABLE) THERE WOULD BE NO NEED FOR PURGE OR WIDE-SCALE DISMISSALS, SINCE THIS HAD BEEN CARRIED OUT FOLLOWING 1964 ELECTIONS; IN FACT, HE OBSERVED, ERE'S PRESTIGE HAS RISEN SOMEWHAT AS THAT OF "DEFECTORS"

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 1764A/1 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
HAD DECLINED, AND PEOPLE HAVE LOST MUCH OF THEIR BITTERNESS TOWARDS CONSERVATIVE PARTY.

PAPANDREOU SAID IDEALLY COUNTRY SHOULD GO TO ELECTIONS IN "TWO OR THREE MONTHS UNDER SERVICE GOVT." HE IS PREPARED HAVE ELECTORAL LAW MODIFIED TO STRAIGHT PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM SINCE THIS WOULD "GIVE HOPE" TO 45 DEFECTORS THAT AT LEAST SOME AMONG THEM MIGHT BE RE-ELECTED (ALTHOUGH HE EXPRESSED CONVICTION THAT NONE WOULD BE). CU LEADER EMPHASIZED THAT HE IS WILLING TO ACCEPT ANY PROPOSALS TO BRING ABOUT IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS POINTING OUT THAT HE HAD AGREED TO ELECTIONS EVEN UNDER ERE AEGIS, ALTHOUGH ANELLOPOULOS HAD BACKED DOWN ON HIS OFFER.

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-3- 535, September 30 (SECTION 1 OF 2), From: Athens

I INQUIRED HOW IN HIS OPINION ELECTIONS MIGHT COME ABOUT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. BROADLY SPEAKING IT SEEMS TO ME THERE ARE TWO PRINCIPAL ROUTES WHICH HE MIGHT FOLLOW: (A) CONTINUE PRESENT PRESSURE TACTICS IN HOPE GOVT COULD BE OVERTHROWN THUS FORCING ELECTIONS OR (B) TRY TO BRING CALM INTO POLITICAL SCENE AND THUS ENCOURAGE WILLINGNESS OF ALL PARTIES TO CALL ELECTIONS. PAPANDREOU INTERJECTED THAT HE IS NOT "EXERTING PRESSURE" BUT "ONLY CALLING DEMONSTRATIONS." I SAID THAT WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO POLITICAL ISSUES INVOLVED OR WHO MIGHT WIN, THING WHICH PREOCCUPIES ME MOST IS EFFECT WHICH CURRENT INSTABILITY IS HAVING ON COUNTRY'S ECONOMY. UNLESS A DEGREE OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE CAN BE RE-STORED SITUATION MIGHT DETERIORATE FURTHER RISKING A FLIGHT OF CAPITAL FROM COUNTRY FROM WHICH IT MIGHT TAKE

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 1764A/1 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
YEARS TO RECOVER.

PAPANDREOU AGREED BUT ASSERTED THIS BUTTRESSED HIS VIEW THAT ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD IMMEDIATELY. ECONOMIC SITUATION TOGETHER WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM CONSTITUTE MOST PRESSING PROBLEMS FACING COUNTRY. WHATEVER GOVT IS IN POWER WILL HAVE TO TAKE SOME UNPOPULAR AND AUSTERE ECONOMIC DECISIONS. THE "FAKE" GOVT OF STEPHANOPOULOS WITH NO POPULAR FOLLOWING COULD NOT TAKE SUCH MEASURE AND, IF IT DID, MIGHT EVEN PROVOKE POPULAR UPRISINGS. ONLY GOVT WHICH RECEIVED FRESH MANDATE FROM PEOPLE COULD COPE WITH SUCH DIFFICULT QUESTIONS.

I ALLUDED TO CURRENT "LACK OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE" BETWEEN PALACE AND HIMSELF AND NEED FOR ATTEMPT TO ALLEVIATE THIS SITUATION. TO THIS PAPANDREOU REPLIED WITH ATTACK ON VOKKAS, VLACHOU AND CHOIDAS AS RESPONSIBLE FOR PUTTING BEFORE KING "SCHEME" OF "REMOVING" HIM FROM OFFICE IN JULY. ROLE OF QUEEN MOTHER FREDERICA WAS ALSO DESTRUCTIVE SINCE "SHE DOES NOT COMPREHEND MEANING OF DEMOCRACY" AND HAD PERSUADED KING THAT PAPANDREOU BY HIS ACTS HAD "INSULTED" THRONE. HOWEVER, HE SPOKE FAVORABLY OF KING WHO IS INTELLIGENT ALTHOUGH LACKING IN EXPERIENCE. SINCE SCHEME TO OUST HIM HAD NOT SUCCEEDED AFTER INITIAL ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH GOVT UNDER NOVAS WITH 26 DEFECTORS, KING SHOULD HAVE RECOGNIZED HIS MISTAKE AND CALLED FOR ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, INFLUENCE OF QUEEN MOTHER PREVENTED THIS. *ANSCHUETZ*

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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CR/SECSTATE WASHDC 535

INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 141

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

RUQM GU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 153

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 135

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1965 SEP 30 AM 11 34

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 30 SECTION 2 OF 2

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN.

I NOTED THAT CONTINUING CRISIS MIGHT STRENGTHEN HAND OF THOSE PREPARED TO URGE MILITARY SOLUTION UPON KING. PAPANDREOU REPLIED THAT WHILE HE COULD NOT SAY WITH CERTAINTY HIS RECENT ENCOUNTERS WITH KING IN CROWN COUNCIL AND EARLIER INDICATED THAT KING IS FULLY AWARE OF "DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES" OF ATTEMPTING ESTABLISH DICTATORSHIP. THEREFORE HE DID NOT BELIEVE SUCH AN ATTEMPT LIKELY. MILITARY TAKEOVER WITHOUT APPROVAL OF KING DEFINITELY OUT OF QUESTION INASMUCH AS KING HAS COMPLETE LOYALTY OF ARMY

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1764A/2 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AND THERE IS NO FIGURE IN ARMY OF SUFFICIENT STATURE TO MOVE ON HIS OWN. GENERAL GENNIMATAS IS NOT OF SUCH CALIBER, AND OTHER MILITARY LEADERS ARE EVEN LESS ENDOWED WITH NECESSARY TRAITS.

PAPANDREOU RIDICULED HERE AND GOVT CHARGES THAT LAMBRAKIS ORGANIZATIONS "TERRORIZING" COUNTRYSIDE, AND DERIDED REPORTS COMMUNISTS IMPORTING ARMS. IF THIS WERE TRUE THEN IT INEXPLICABLE THAT NO LAMBRAKIS TYPES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND THAT NONE OF ALLEGEDLY SMUGGL

ED WEAPONS HAD BEEN DISCOVERED. DELAS EFFORTS NOW ARE CONCENTRATED ON POLITICAL RATHER THAN REVOLUTIONARY LEVEL. REPORTS OF TERRORISM AND ARMS SMUGGLING, HE INTIMATED, ARE SIMPLY RUSES TO TRY TO JUSTIFY DELAS IN ELECTIONS.

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-2- 535 SEPTEMBER 30 FROM ATHENS

COMMENT:

ALTHOUGH MOST OF PAPANDREOU'S COMMENTS WERE FAMILIAR SEVERAL POINTS OF INTEREST EMERGED SUCH AS (1) ADMISSION THAT HE IS MORE EFFECTIVE IN OPPOSITION THAN IN LEADING GOVT; (2) ACKNOWLEDGMENT THAT WHATEVER GOVT COMES TO POWER IT MUST MAKE UNPOPULAR DECISIONS ON ECONOMIC FRONT (SOMETHING PAPANDREOU WAS UNWILLING TO DO WHILE IN POWER); (3) HIS CONFIDENCE THAT WITHOUT KING'S APPROVAL ARMY WOULD NEVER TAKE MATTER INTO ITS OWN HANDS. PAPANDREOU'S MANNER INDICATED HE IS NOT EXPECTING OVERTHROW STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT IMMEDIATELY BUT IS PREPARING FOR RELATIVELY LONG, DRAWN- OUT STRUGGLE BEFORE ELECTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE.

PAPANDREOU SET FORTH HIS OVER-SIMPLIFIED ANALYSIS OF PRESENT SITUATION WITH CONSIDERABLE WIT AND HUMOR. NEVERTHELESS, PAPANDREOU'S ALMOST COMPLETE REFUSAL ACCEPT ANY DEGREE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR CREATION OR CONTINUATION OF CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS PROVIDES LITTLE BASIS FOR HOPE THAT HIS ACTIONS ARE LIKELY CONTRIBUTE TO EARLY RESTORATION OF POLITICAL OR ECONOMIC STABILITY.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC (526)  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 150  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 134  
RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 140  
STATE GRNC  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 28

SECTION ONE OF TWO

FOLLOWING PARLIAMENT'S VOTE OF CONFIDENCE FOR THE STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT SATURDAY MORNING, GREECE FOR FIRST TIME SINCE PRESENT CRISIS ERUPTED JULY 15 HAS GOVERNMENT APPROVED BY PARL AND ONE WHICH WILL GOVERN AT LEAST UNTIL PARL RECONVENES IN MID-NOVEMBER. HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH MOST ACUTE STAGE OF CRISIS IS NOW PAST, LIFE EXPECTANCY OF PRESENT GOVT IS DANGEROUSLY THREATENED BY AT LEAST FOUR FACTORS.

FIRST FACTOR IS ABILITY OF PAPANDREOU FORCES TO GENERATE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1728A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
IMPRESSIVE PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS DESIGNED TO PROVE THAT THE PRESENT GOVT DOES NOT REPRESENT POPULAR WILL. FORMER PRIMIN HAS POWER TO KEEP COUNTRY IN CONSTANT STATE OF TURMOIL BY HOLDING DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY-SIDE, SUCH AS LAST WEEK'S RALLY IN THESSALONIKI AND FORTHCOMING RALLIES IN CRETE. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT AT VERY LEAST PAPANDREOU WILL ATTEMPT TO CREATE "PRE-ELECTORAL ATMOSPHERE" BY PUTTING AS MUCH PRESSURE AS POSSIBLE ON GOVT THROUGH HIS "MARCHES TO PEOPLE."

PAPANDREOU IS, OF COURSE, AT HIS BEST AS LEADER OF OPPOSITION FORCES, AS HE DEMONSTRATED SO CLEARLY DURING PERIOD OF "UNRELENTING STRUGGLE" AGAINST ERE GOVT OF CONSTANTINE CAR-AMANLIS FROM 1961 - 63. WHATEVER LIMITATIONS PAPANDREOU MAY HAVE AS RESPONSIBLE GOVT LEADER - - AND HIS ADMINISTRATION DEMONSTRATED THAT HE HAS MANY - - HE COMPENSATES FOR IN ROLE OF OPPOSITION LEADER, WHERE HIS UNQUESTIONED ORATORICAL AND DEMAGOGIC POWERS CAN BE SO EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED. FURTHER, HE IS MASTER POLITICAL TACTICIAN, WHO WILL EXPLOIT QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY MISTAKES OF NEW GOVT.

WHAT IS UNCLEAR IS DEGREE OF COOPERATION WITH EXTREME

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03



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PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1728A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
LEFTIST EDA PARTY - - THROUGH PAPANDREOU'S SON ANDREAS - -  
THAT CAN BE EXPECTED, AND WHETHER DEMONSTRATIONS WILL BE LARGELY  
PEACEFUL OR WHETHER VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED WILL BE PROVOKED.  
SUCH PAPANDREOU STALWARTS AS FORMER MINAGRI BALTADZIS HAVE  
HINTED DARKLY TO EMB OFFICERS THAT LATTER WILL BE CASE.  
HOWEVER, SINCE BLOODY DEMONSTRATIONS OF AUG. 20 (EMBTCL 284)  
CU AND COMMUNISTS HAVE ESCHEWED VIOLENCE, APPARENTLY ON THEORY  
THAT DISORDERS HAD BOOMERANGED BY FRIGHTENING CONSERVATIVE  
OPINION. FURTHER, TENDENCY TO PROVOKE VIOLENCE MAY BE SOMEWHAT  
INHIBITED BY STEPHANOPOULOS' GOVT'S STATED DETERMINATION  
NOT TO PROCEED TO ELECTIONS UNTIL COMPLETE ORDER AND TRANQUILITY  
IS ESTABLISHED. GOVT HAS ASSERTED THAT TO DEGREE PAPANDREOU  
AND/OR COMMUNISTS KEEP CLIMATE AGITATED, TO THAT EXTENT  
THEY DELAY ELECTIONS. HOW MUCH EFFECT, IF ANY, THIS WILL HAVE  
ON PAPANDREOU'S INTENTION TO CREATE "PRE-ELECTORAL ATMOSPHERE"  
REMAINS TO BE SEEN. ALSO DIFFICULT TO ASSESS AT THIS MOMENT  
IS DEGREE TO WHICH PUBLIC WILL TIRE OF CONTINUED POLITICAL  
AGITATION. PRO-STEPHANOPOULOS FORCES ARE COUNTING ON WHAT THEY  
TERM "SHORT-INTEREST SPAN" OF GREEK PUBLIC TO UNDERMINE  
PAPANDREOU'S EFFORTS TO KEEP POT BOILING.

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SECOND FACTOR WORKING AGAINST STABILITY IS INCONGRUOUS  
NATURE OF NEW GOVT, WHICH IS MADE UP OF 45 SO-CALLED DEFECTORS  
FROM CU BASED ON SUPPORT OF 107 DEPUTIES FROM CONSERVATIVE  
ERE AND PROGRESSIVE PARTIES. ONLY UNIFYING FACTOR IN THIS  
CONGLOMERATION OF PARTIES IS DETERMINATION OF ALL CONCERNED  
TO PREVENT PAPANDREOU FROM RETURNING TO POWER. AS LONG AS  
GOVT HAS BEEN SIMPLY OPPOSING PAPANDREOU THINGS HAVE PROCEEDED  
RELATIVELY SMOOTHLY. HOWEVER, WHEN ATTEMPT IS MADE - -  
AS IT MUST BE EVENTUALLY - - TO FRAME SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
LEGISLATION, THEN TROUBLE MAY BE EXPECTED. THIS IS PARTICULARLY  
TRUE IN CASE OF ALWAYS UNPREDICTABLE PROGRESSIVE LEADER  
MARKEZINIS, WHO MAY BE EXPECTED TO BECOME INCREASINGLY RESTIVE  
IN HIS PRESENT PASSIVE ROLE.

NEW GOVT'S PROGRAM IS LIKELY SOURCE OF DISSENTION. IN ADDITION -  
TO PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS, PRESENT GOVT IS HEADED BY SUCH  
FORMER CU LEADERS AS TSIRIMOKOS AND MITSOTAKIS, WHO WERE  
MAJOR INSTRUMENTS IN FORMULATION OF LIBERAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
POLICY OF PAPANDREOU GOVT. THEY AND THEIR FOLLOWERS ARE  
REPORTEDLY DETERMINED TO PUSH AHEAD WITH PROGRAM OF CU GOVT.  
MARKEZINIS, ON OTHER HAND, IS APPARENTLY EQUALLY DETERMINED

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PAGE 5 RUOMAT 1728A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
TO GIVE CONSERVATIVE BENT ON NEW GOVT. ALREADY MARKEZINIS' ORGAN ESTIA HAS CRITICIZED CHOICE OF LONG-TIME SOCIALIST TSIRIMOKOS AS MINFONAFFAIRS, AND PAPER HAS ALSO SHARPLY ATTACKED STATED INTENTION OF STEPHANOPOULOS TO CONTINUE EDUCATIONAL REFORM POLICY OF PAPANDREOU GOVT WHICH WAS SO POPULAR WITH COUNTRY'S MASSES. FURTHER, IN VIEW OF THE "PRE-ELECTORAL ATMOSPHERE" WHICH PAPANDREOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY CREATE, IT WILL BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT TO TAKE ANY OF HARD (AND UNPOPULAR MEASURES) NECESSARY TO FACE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. ANY EFFORT TO CUT DOWN ON HIGH PRICE SUPPORTS SET BY PAPANDREOU GOVT WILL BE IMMEDIATELY EXPLOITED BY PAPANDREOU.

ERE PARTY OF PANAYOTIS KANELLOPOULOS IS IN PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT ROLE. WITH "SYMBOLIC" PARTICIPATION IN STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT, ERE IS THEORETICALLY NOT OPPOSITION PARTY AND THEREFORE CANNOT SCORE POLITICAL POINTS BY ATTACKING GOVT'S MEASURES. ON OTHER HAND, BOTH STEPHANOPOULOS AND KANELLOPOULOS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT ERE WILL HAVE NO RPT NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR FORMULATING GOVT'S PROGRAM. HOW LONG ERE DEPUTIES WILL BE WILLING TO REMAIN QUIETLY IN THIS AMBIGUOUS POSITION IS

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 150

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 134

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 140

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 28

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SECTION TWO OF TWO

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THIRD FACTOR MAKING FOR INSTABILITY IS THE RIVALRY BETWEEN TSIRIMOKOS AND MITSOTAKIS WHO ARE THE TWO PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF STRENGTH IN THE STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT. UNLESS THEY CAN ADJUST TO EACH OTHER'S CONCEPTION OF THE ROLES EACH OUGHT PLAY, TENSIONS WOULD BE CREATED WHICH BY THEMSELVES COULD DESTROY THE PRESENT FRAGILE ARRANGEMENT.

RSR FOURTH FACTOR IS PRESSURE FOR ELECTIONS, WHICH, IF AND WHEN

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1728AA ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
A CERTAIN CALM IS RESTORED, WILL BE IRRESISTIBLE.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO VISUALIZE HOW STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT CAN DELAY ELECTIONS MUCH BEYOND SPRING OF 1966. NEW GOVT HAS RECOGNIZED IN PRINCIPLE NEED FOR EVENTUAL ELECTIONS TO "CLARIFY" SITUATION, AT SAME TIME INSISTING THAT TRANQUILITY MUST FIRST BE RESTORED. EVEN PALACE CONCEDES PRIVATELY THAT ELECTIONS WILL HAVE TO BE HELD IN NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE, BUT WISHES THEM TO BE AT TIME OF GOVT'S OWN CHOOSING, WHEN (IDEALLY) PAPANDREOU MIGHT BE CAUGHT OFF BALANCE. TENDENCY TOWARDS ELECTIONS IS STRENGTHENED FURTHER BY FAILURE OF STEPHANOPOULOS FORCES TO OBTAIN OVERT NUMBER OF "DEFECTORS" FROM CU. WITH ONLY RAZOR-THIN MAJORITY IN PARL, DEFECTION OF ONLY TWO DISGRUNTLED DEPUTIES COULD BRING ENTIRE STRUCTURE CRASHING DOWN. IN ANY CASE, WHILE IT IS GENERALLY ACCEPTED (EVEN BY PAPANDREOU FORCES) THAT THERE WILL BE NO ELECTIONS

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-2- 526, SEPTEMBER 28, FROM: ATHENS (SECTION TWO OF TWO)

THIS YEAR, THERE IS GROWING TENDENCY IN POLITICAL CIRCLES TO CALCULATE SPRING OF 1966 - - OR AT LATEST FALL OF SAME YEAR - - AS PROBABLE TIME FOR COUNTRY TO GO TO POLLS.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1728AA ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HOPEFULLY, ONE BENEFICIAL EFFECT OF STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT'S OBTAINING VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IS THAT KING HAS TO SOME DEGREE BEEN REMOVED FROM DIRECT LINE OF FIRE AND REPLACED BY POLITICAL GOVT. UNTIL NOW, WITH PARL REJECTING PRIMINS WHO RECEIVED MANDATE, CONFLICT ASSUMED FORM OF DEATH STRUGGLE BETWEEN PAPANDREOU AND CROWN. NOW PRO-PAPANDREOU FORCES HAVE POLITICAL TARGET ON WHICH TO CONCENTRATE THEIR FIRE - - IF THEY WISH. HOWEVER, EVEN IF PAPANDREOU DOES DEVOTE HIS ENERGIES PRIMARILY TO ATTACKING STEPHANOPOULOS, WOUNDS OPENED LAST JULY 15 WILL BE LONG IN HEALING, AND ENTIRE QUESTION OF ROLE OF MONARCHY IN GREEK POLITICAL LIFE WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION IN MONTHS TO COME.

NOTWITHSTANDING FRAGILITY PRESENT GOVT WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD GIVE IT ALL SUPPORT, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL, WHICH CAN REASONABLY BE JUSTIFIED. TO EXTENT THIS GOVT IS ABLE GAIN STRENGTH, PROSPECT OF COMING TO POWER OF REGIMES OF A MORE DANGEROUS CHARACTER DIMINISHES. MOST LIKELY ALTERNATIVES TO THIS GOVT ARE (A) REGIME LED BY PAPANDREOU, OR (B) SOME FORM OF REGIME BASED ON POWER OF ARMED FORCES. CONSEQUENCES OF FISCAL IRRESPONSIBILITY OF PAPANDREOU GOVT ARE BECOMING MORE

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APPARENT EVERY DAY. RESTORATION OF ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT OF ALL KINDS IS URGENTLY NEEDED TO SUPPORT POLICY OF REDISTRIBUTION OF INCOMES WHICH PAPANDREOU GOVT LAUNCHED. HOWEVER, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF RETURN OF PAPANDREOU IN NEAR FUTURE WOULD PROBABLY FORECLOSE POSSIBILITIES OF ACHIEVING THIS.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

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Action NNNNVV QMA151ATA516  
PP RUEHC  
NEA DE RUQMAT 1658A 2680145  
Info ZNR UUUUU  
P 250106Z  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
SS TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 511  
G INFO RUFCJ/AMEMBASSY PARIS 135  
SP RUFCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
L RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 146  
H RUQVHAN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 130  
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P UNCLASSIFIED SEPTEMBER 25

USIA  
NSC PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

INR  
CIA USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN

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FOLLOWING ALL NIGHT SESSION, PARLIAMENT EARLY THIS MORNING  
GAVE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TO GOVT OF PRIMIN STEPHEN STEPHANO-  
POULOS. FINAL VOTE WAS 152 IN FAVOR, 148 AGAINST. NINETYNINE  
ERE DEPUTIES AND 8 FROM PROGRESSIVES JOINED 45 "DEFECTORS"  
FROM CU IN FAVOR, WHILE 126 PAPANDREOU DEPUTIES AND ALL  
22 EDA DEPUTIES VOTED AGAINST GOVT.

FOLLOWING VOTING THERE WERE NUMBER OF MINOR SCUFFLES IN CORRIDORS

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 1658A UNCLASSIFIED  
OF PARLIAMENT AS SUPPORTERS OF BOTH SIDES EXCHANGED INSULTS.  
SMALL GROUP OF PRO-PAPANDREOU SUPPORTERS WHO GATHERED  
OUTSIDE TO CHEER PAPANDREOU AND DENOUNCE STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT  
WAS DISPERSED FORCIBLY BY POLICE.

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ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O, 9/24/65, 10:55 P.M.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 500  
INFO RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 132  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 124  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 128  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 23

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL SITUATION.

AMIDST TABLE-POUNDING AND CHANTING FROM GROUP OF DOZEN CU DEPUTIES, PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS DELIVERED POLICY STATEMENT OF HIS GOVT TO PARLIAMENT LAST NIGHT. ALTHOUGH MOST OF WHAT PRIMIN SAID WAS DROWNED OUT BY CLAMOR, STEPHANOPOULOS READ STATEMENT THROUGH TO END AND THEN ASKED PARLIAMENT TO GIVE HIS GOVT VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. FOLLOWING STEPHANOPOULOS SPEECH,

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 1630A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
EDA LEADER ILIOU ASKED FOR 48-HOUR ADJOURNMENT TO CONSIDER PRIMIN'S STATEMENT, BUT THIS WAS REJECTED BY OTHER PARTIES, ALTHOUGH IT WAS AGREED THAT EDA COULD PRESENT ITS REMARKS ON POLICY STATEMENT TODAY.

IN BRIEF SPEECHES, ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS AND PROGRESSIVE CHIEF MARKEZINIS STATED THAT THEY WOULD VOTE IN FAVOR OF GOVT. FORMER MIN JUSTICE BAKOPOULOS, WHO WAS ACTING AS SPOKESMAN FOR CU IN ABSENCE PAPANDREOU (WHO CONTINUED BOYCOTT OF PARL) DECLARED SIMPLY THAT PAPANDREOU'S 120-ODD DEPUTIES WOULD VOTE AGAINST GOVT.

STEPHANOPOULOS' POLICY STATEMENT WAS MODERATE ONE. EMPHASIS WAS UPON NEED FOR RESTORATION OF PUBLIC ORDER AND TRANQUILITY, A THEME TO WHICH PRIMIN REPEATEDLY RETURNED. STEPHANOPOULOS SAID HIS GOVT IS "NOT GOVT APPOINTED TO CONDUCT

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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- 2 - 500, September 23, from Athens.

ELECTIONS" BUT SAID GOVERNMENT WOULD "PREPARE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL PERMIT SMOOTH AND FAIR CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS AT PROPER TIME." HE WARNED THAT UNTIL COMPLETE CALM IS RESTORED ELECTIONS CANNOT TAKE PLACE AND HE SAID: "LET ALL THOSE WHO ARE IN HURRY FOR ELECTIONS BE QUITE CLEAR ON THIS POINT: THEY THEMSELVES MUST HELP US IN OUR ENDEAVOR. THEY ARE VERY MUCH MISTAKEN IF

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 1630A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
THEY THINK THAT THEY ARE HELPING BY EXERCISING THREATS AND PRESSURES." STEPHANOPOULOS ADDED THAT "IN DUE COURSE." GOVT WOULD PROPOSE BILL PROVIDING THAT SIMPLE PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM BE EMPLOYED IN NEXT ELECTIONS.

ON FOREIGN POLICY, PRIMIN SAID FOREIGN POLICY OF GREECE "HAS BEEN FIXED ON STABLE AND UNCHANGING BASIS IN RECENT YEARS. GREECE WILL REMAIN FAITHFUL TO HER ALLIANCES, RESPECTING HER OBLIGATIONS, BUT DEMANDING EQUALITY OF TREATMENT." EFFORTS WILL BE MADE TO "EXPAND CIRCLE OF FRIENDLY STATES," PARTICULARLY WITH COUNTRIES OF "MIDDLE EAST, ASIA, AFRICA, AND SOUTH AMERICA, WITH WHO WE ARE BOUND BY LONG TRADITION OF FRIENDSHIP..." CONCERNING CYPRUS, STEPHANOPOULOS SAID "GREEKS WILL NEVER ABANDON THEIR DESIRE FOR UNION OF CYPRUS WITH MOTHER GREECE," ADDING THAT DEMAND OF CYPRIOTS IS FOUNDED ON "BASIC PRINCIPLE OF UN: PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

WITH REGARD TO ARMED FORCES, PRIMIN SAID "RECENT DISTURBANCES WHICH OCCURED IN ARMY MAKE IT NECESSARY FOR US TO DECLARE THAT WE REGARD IT AS OUR DUTY TO PUT AN END TO ANY KIND OF COMMOTION

PAGE FOUR RUQMAT 1630A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
CONCERNING ARMED FORCES...WHICH BELONG ONLY TO NATION AS WHOLE." STEPHANOPOULOS PROMISED TO CONTINUE EDUCATIONAL REFORMS INTRODUCED BY PAPANDREOU GOVT, NOTING THAT "NEED FOR MODERNIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS LONG BEEN WIDELY RECOGNIZED."

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 3- 500, September 23, from Athens.

ON ECONOMIC SIDE, STEPHANOPOULOS DECLARED THAT DESPITE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF POLITICAL CRISIS, ECONOMY REMAINED RESILIENT. MONETARY AND FISCAL SITUATIONS, HE CONTINUED, ARE STILL UNDER CONTROL AND SAID GOG PLANNED "RETRENCHMENT" TO KEEP THEM THAT WAY. IN THIS CONNECTION HE NOTED SERIOUS SHORTFALLS IN STATE INVESTMENT PROGRAM, ATTRIBUTING THEM IN LARGE MEASURE TO DELAY IN RECEIPT OF PROMISED FOREIGN AID.

ACCORDING TO PRIMIN, MEASURES CONTEMPLATED BY GOG WILL RESTORE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN CONFIDENCE AND INCREASE INTEREST OF FOREIGN INVESTORS. WITH REGARD TO URGENT PROBLEM OF CROP SURPLUSES, STEPHANOPOULOS PROMISED TO GIVE THEM CLOSE ATTENTION, BUT OFFERED NO SPECIFIC SOLUTIONS.

DEBATE WILL CONTINUE TONIGHT, WITH ILLIOU FIRST SPEAKER. VOTING ON CONFIDENCE MOTION IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE FRIDAY OR SATURDAY, WITH STEPHANOPOULOS CONSIDERED ALMOST CERTAIN TO WIN CONFIDENCE VOTE.

GP-4. ANSCHUETZ

BT

NOTE: ADVANCE COPY S/S-O AT 8:50 PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

**SUMMARY**

**INCOMING TELEGRAM** *Department of State*

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC (470)

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA 138

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 123

RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 128

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

STATE GRNC

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 20

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS; USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS

IN PRESS CONFERENCE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC PRESS SATURDAY, PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS REITERATED WHAT HE HAD SAID DAY EARLIER (EMBTCL 457) THAT MAIN TASK OF HIS GOVT WOULD BE TO COPE WITH "COLLOSSAL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS" FACING COUNTRY. PRIMIN REPEATED THAT BEFORE ELECTIONS COULD BE HELD IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO "RESTORE PEACE AND TRANQUILITY" TO POLITICAL SCENE SINCE IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO HOLD ELECTIONS "UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS OF PASSIONS, CLASHES, AND SIDEWALK PRESSURES." STEPHANOPOULOS EMPHASIZED THAT GOVT WOULD INTRODUCE LEGISLATION PROVIDING FOR APPLICATION OF STRAIGHT PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM FOR NEXT ELECTIONS.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1538A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ON FOREIGN POLICY, PRIMIN SAID THAT GREECE WOULD "REMAIN LOYAL TO OUR ALLIANCE BUT AT SAME TIME WIDEN OUR CIRCLES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH OTHER NATIONS." ASKED LATER IF GOVT WOULD MOVE TO DISBAND LEFTIST LAMBRAKIS YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS, STEPHANOPOULOS AVOIDED ANSWERING DIRECTLY, BUT SAID HIS GOVT WAS DETERMINED "NOT TO TOLERATE ANY VIOLENCE AND TO RESTORE PEACE, ORDER, AND TRANQUILITY." HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT GOVT WOULD "NOT USE VIOLENCE" TO ACHIEVE PACIFICATION. PRIMIN CONFIRMED PRESS REPORTS THAT MAIN OPERATING BODY OF HIS GOVT WOULD BE "INNER CABINET" COMPOSED OF KEY MINISTERS AND INCLUDING MINISTERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO FROM ERE AND

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, N/RA, Date 6-26-03

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-2- 470, SEPTEMBER 20, FROM ATHENS.

PROGRESSIVES. STEPHANOPOULOS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT HENCEFORTH 43 "DEFECTORS" FROM PAPANDREOU WOULD BE KNOWN AS "INDEPENDENTS OF CENTER."

PARL IS SCHEDULED TO CONVENE SEPT 22 TO HEAR PROGRAM OF NEW GOVT BEFORE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE. IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE STEPHANOPOULOS HINTED THAT GOVT MIGHT NOT INSIST UPON FULL FIVE DAYS OF DEBATE BUT MIGHT MOVE FOR CONFIDENCE VOTE BEFORE EXPIRATION OF TIME LIMIT. POLITICAL OBSERVERS CONSIDER IT HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT WITH 150 SURE VOTES ALREADY, NEW GOVT WILL OBTAIN ONE ADDITIONAL VOTE NECESSARY TO WIN CONFIDENCE MOTION. IT IS LIKELY THAT AT LEAST ONE NEW MINISTER WILL BE SWORN IN BEFORE WEDNESDAY. SOURCES CLOSE TO STEPHANOPOULOS SAY THAT NEW MINISTER MAY BE CHIOS DEPUTY MAVRIDOGLU AND THAT FORMER COMMERCE MIN GLAVANIS ALSO MAY BE SWORN IN.

FOR THEIR PART, PRO-PAPANDREOU FORCES HAVE BEEN BOUYED UP BY WHAT THEY DESCRIBE AS "TRIUMPHANT" PAPANDREOU SPEECH IN THESSALONIKI (CONGENTEL 27). IN VIEW OF LIKELIHOOD THAT NEW GOVT WILL OBTAIN CONFIDENCE VOTE, PAPANDREOU MAY BE EXPECTED TO "UNLEASH" HIS FOLLOWERS TO STAGE DEMONSTRATION THROUGHOUT COUNTRY IN HIS BEHALF. HOWEVER, POLITICAL OBSERVERS WERE STRUCK BY PAPANDREOU STATEMENT IN HIS THESSALONIKI SPEECH THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT STRAIGHT PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM. AS HE PUT IT, "CHANGE OF ELECTORAL SYSTEM LEAVES US INDIFFERENT," AT SAME TIME POINTING OUT THAT HE WAS SO CONFIDENT OF VICTORY IN ELECTIONS THAT HE HAD BEEN WILLING TO LET THEM CONDUCT THEM. AS NOTED IN EMBTEL 457, AMENDMENT OF ELECTORAL LAW COULD TAKE MANY MONTHS. THEREFORE PAPANDREOU PROBABLY HAS DECIDED THAT BEST WAY TO OBTAIN EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD BE TO AGREE TO WHATEVER SYSTEM GOVT PROPOSED, RATHER THAN STRUGGLING AGAINST CHANGE.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

16

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Action

CONTROL: 15389

RECD: SEPTEMBER 18, 1965

9:48 A.M.

FS

Info

FROM: ATHENS

TO: SECSTATE PRIORITY 460

~~SECRET~~ SEPTEMBER 18

~~//NO DIS//~~

PASS NASA-TO JAMES E. WEBB FROM JULIAN SCHEER

SLAYTON, COOPER, CONRAD HAD 1 HALF HOURS VERY FRUITFUL PRIVATE CONVERSATION COSMONAUTS. DEBRIEFING ENROUTE TURKEY. POUCHING REPORT.

ANSCHUETZ

NOTE: NOT PASSED NASA BY OC/T.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5  
State Dept. Guidelines  
By ebm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 455

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 121

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RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 125

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UNCLAS SEPTEMBER 17

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KING CONSTANTINE THIS EVENING GAVE MANDATE TO FORM GOVT TO FORMER CU DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHEN STEPHANOPOULOS. NEW CABINET WAS SWORN IN IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. SIX NEW DEPUTIES FROM PAPANDREOU CAMP WERE INCLUDED IN CABINET. WITH NEW DEPUTIES ADDED TO EARLIER CU "DEFECTORS" AND DEPUTIES OF ERE AND PROGRESSIVES, STEPHANOPOULOS STRENGTH NOW TOTALS 150 DEPUTIES,

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 1497A UNCLAS

ONE SHORT OF REQUIRED NUMBER FOR MAJORITY IN PARL. ERE AND PROGRESSIVES PARTICIPIATED SYMOBLICALLY WITH ONE MINISTER W/O PORTFOLIO EACH. NEW GOVT. ANNOUNCED THAT ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF CABINET WOULD BE SWORN IN MONDAY, AND THAT GOVT. WOULD APPEAR BEFORE PARL NEXT WEEK.

NAMES OF NEW MINISTERS ARE:

PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS

DEPUTY PRIMIN AND MINFONAFFAIRS TSIRIMOKOS

DEPUTY PRIMIN AND MININDUSTRY ATHANASIADIS-NOVAS

MINCOORD AND FINANCE MITSOTAKIS

MINNATDEFENSE KOSTOPOULOS

MINJUSTICE PAPASPYROU

MIN TO PRIMIN KOTHRIS

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-2- 455, Sept. 17, From Athens

MINEDUC AND PUBLIC ORDER ALAMANIS  
MIN PUBLIC WORKS AND NORTHGREECE TOUMBAS  
MINCOMMERCE MELAS  
MININTERIOR ZAIMIS  
MIN AGRIC PANGOUTSAS  
MINLABOR BAKETSELOS  
MINHEALTH MANOUSSIS

PAGE 3, RUQMAT 1497A UNCLAS  
MINCOMMUN YANNOPOULOS  
UNDERMIN TO PRIMIN YEORYIOU  
UNDERMIN COMMUN PIALOGOU

MINISTERS W/O PORTFOLIO: KARATHODOROS (PROG) AND VOURDOUVAS (ERE)

SIX NEW "DEFECTORS" FROM PAPANDREOU CAMP ARE: KOTHRIS, YAN-  
NOPOULOS, PANGOUTSAS, YEORYIOU, MANOUSSIS, AND PIALOGOU.  
REMAINING MINISTERS (EXCEPT FOR "SYMBOLIC" PARTICIPANTS)  
SERVED IN NOVAS AND/OR TSIRIMOKOS GOVT.

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NOTE: PASSED DIA, 9/17/65, 8:40 p.m.



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~SECRET~~ SEPTEMBER 17

L I M D I S

IN BREIF PRIVATE EXCHANGE LAST NIGHT FOLLOWING DINNER WHICH KING CONSTANTINE GAVE IN HONOR OF ASTRONAUTS COOPER AND CONRAD, KING REFERRED TO CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION,

KING SAID IT IMPERATIVE STEPHANOPOULOS SUCCEED IN EFFORT FORM GOVT ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT YET QUITE CLEAR WHETHER STEPHANOPOULOS HAS IN FACT OBTAINED ASSURANCES OF SIX OR SEVEN ADDITIONAL VOTES NECESSARY TO OBTAIN MAJORITY. HE SUGGESTED THAT IF EMBASSY HAD ANY INFLUENCE SUCH INFLUENCE COULD BE TERRIBLY IMPORTANT IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. IF CURRENT EFFORT TO FORM GOVT FAILS IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW WHAT TO DO NEXT.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1481A ~~SECRET~~

KING RECOGNIZED THAT EVEN THOUGH STEPHANOPOULOS WERE TO RECEIVE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, ONE COULD NOT PREDICT HOW LONG HIS GOVT WOULD LAST. IT IS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE THAT NEW GOVT NOT BE FORMED ON BASIS OF A COMMITMENT TO HOLD ELECTIONS NOTWITHSTANDING FACT ELECTIONS MUST EVENTUALLY BE HELD. IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF ELECTIONS WERE HELD NOW ON BASIS OF WHO IS RIGHT AND WHO IS WRONG. IMPORTANT THING IS TO FORM GOVT OF OSTENSIBLY INDEFINITE DURATION THEREBY ELIMINATING PROSPECTS OF EARLY ELECTION WHICH PROVIDE PAPANDREOU WITH HOLD OVER SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF HIS DEPUTIES. WHEN ACTIVITIES OF LEFT HAVE BEEN CONTROLLED, ELECTORAL SYSTEM CHANGED, AND APPROPRIATE SITUATION HAD BEEN CREATED, QUICK DECISION COULD BE TAKEN TO HOLD NEW ELECTIONS. KING EXPRESSED OPINION ELECTIONS

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Authority FRUS, Vol. XVI, #206  
By cbm, NARA, Date 6-24-03

~~SECRET~~

-2- 450, SEPTEMBER 17, FROM ATHENS

SHOULD BE HELD UNDER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM. ALTHOUGH PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM MIGHT STRENGTHEN HANDS OF COMMUNISTS, COMMUNISTS WOULD BE CLEARLY VISIBLE AND POWER OF PAPANDREOU WOULD ALSO BE REDUCED.

I OBSERVED THAT WE HAD ALWAYS RECOGNIZED THAT WHATEVER GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE FORMED FROM PRESENT PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE REGARDED AS EVOLUTIONARY, AND AGREE WITH HIM THAT ELECTIONS MUST EVENTUALLY BE HELD. I ADDED I WAS PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT RECORDS OF CROWN COUNCIL MEETING JUST PUBLISHED HAD CLEARLY ESTABLISHED FACT KING HAD INFORMED PAPANDREOU ON NIGHT OF PAPANDREOU'S RESIGNATION THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO GIVE

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1481A-~~SECRET~~

PAPANDREOU DEFENSE PORTFOLIO

AS SOON AS ASPIDA INVESTIGATION HAD BEEN CONCLUDED AND THAT HE WAS ALSO PREPARED TO ACCEPT STEPHANOPOULOS OR ANY OTHER CU DEPUTY AS DEFMIN PENDING COMPLETION OF INVESTIGATION.

COMMENT: KING DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT REMEDY HE MIGHT SEEK IN EVENT CURRENT EFFORT TO FORM GOVERNMENT FAILS

NOR DID HE SPECIFICALLY EXCLUDE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION. NEVERTHELESS I FOUND REASSURING HIS RESERVATIONS REGARDING DURABILITY OF A GOVT FORMED FROM PRESENT PARLIAMENT AND RECOGNITION OF NECESSITY FOR ELECTIONS WHEN APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS HAD BEEN CREATED.

GP-1

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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INFO RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 116

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RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 119

USIA

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 111

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 13

NSA

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS, USDOCOSOUTH FOR FRESHMAN.

DOD

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS.

AID

FOLLOWING SERIES OF WEEKEND MEETINGS BETWEEN PROTAGONISTS INVOLVED IN EFFORT TO FORM NEW GOVT - STEPHANOPOULOS, TSIRIMOKOS, MARKEZINIS, AND KANELLOPOULOS - WAY APPEARS CLEAR FOR KING TO GIVE MANDATE TO STEPHANOPOULOS EARLY THIS WEEK, PERHAPS TOMORROW. STILL TO BE IRONED OUT IS QUESTION WHETHER STEPHANOPOULOS WILL HEAD COALITION GOVT. COMPOSED OF CU DEFECTORS, ERE AND PROGRESSIVES, OR WHETHER HE WILL

RSR

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1343A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
LEAD GOVT MADE UP ONLY OF DEFECTORS. IN VIEW OF DETERMINED OPPOSITION OF ERE TO PARTICIPATION IN SUCH GOVT (ON WHICH MARKEZINIS' WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IS PREDICATED) IT SEEMS INCREASINGLY PROBABLE THAT GOVT WILL BE BASED EXCLUSIVELY ON DEFECTORS. ALTHOUGH IN SUCH EVENT MARKEZINIS HAS THREATENED TO REFUSE TO VOTE FOR STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT, ONE OF MARKEZINIS' DEPUTIES TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER TODAY THAT WHILE MARKEZINIS MAY ABSTAIN FROM VOTING, HE WILL PERMIT HIS 7 DEPUTIES TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF STEPHANOPOULOS.

KEY QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER STEPHANOPOULOS CAN ATTRACT SEVEN OR MORE DEPUTIES FROM 134 STILL NOMINALLY LOYAL TO PAPANDREOU TO OBTAIN NECESSARY 151 VOTES. ALTHOUGH PRIMIN

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-83

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 412, SEPTEMBER 13, FROM ATHENS.

TSIRIMOKOS AND OTHERS PUSHING PRESENT SCHEME EXPRESS OPTIMISM, ONE SOURCE CLOSE TO STEPHANOPOULOS TOLD EMB OFF TODAY THAT PROSPECTS DOUBTFUL BECAUSE OF APPARENT FAILURE OF COALITION GOVT SCHEME TO BE APPROVED. SAME SOURCE SAID THAT BECAUSE OF THIS STEPHANOPOULOS HIMSELF IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL ABOUT WISDOM OF ACCEPTING MANDATE. SUCH HESITATION RUNS TRUE TO STEPHANOPOULOS CHARACTER. IN ANY EVENT, POLITICAL OBSERVERS EXPECT THAT KING WILL OFFER MANDATE TO STEPHANOPOULOS TOMORROW OR NEXT DAY AND, IF ALL GOES WELL, NEW GOVT TO BE SWORN IN FOLLOWING DAY.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY **ATHENS**

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC **PRIORITY 406**

INFO RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY 110

RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 116

RUFHDN/AMEMBASSY LONDON 18

RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS TOPOL 09

RUEHDT/USUN NEWYORK 12

STATE GRNC

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 11

DEPTEL 60.

POLITICAL COUNSELOR CALLED ON THEODOROPOULOS AND HIS DEPUTY LAYING OUT CASE FOR SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE ON GREEK SIDE AND COVERING OTHER GROUND IN SENSE FINAL PARA NICOSIA'S 118 AND EARLIER TELS.

THEODOROPOULOS RESPONDED THAT MAKARIOS HAD PUBLICLY COMMITTED HIMSELF TO UNEVENTFUL ROTATION. TURKISH DEMANDS, WHICH WERE CLEARLY EXCESSIVE AND WHICH ENDANGERED GREEK SECURITY, WERE ALONE RESPONSIBLE FOR CREATION CURRENT DANGEROUS SITUATION.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1325A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
HE ACCEPTED VALIDITY OF POINT THAT ON ISLAND ITSELF BALANCE OF MILITARY POWER HEAVILY IN GREEK FAVOR BUT HE SAID GREEKS MUST LOOK AT POWER BALANCE IN TERMS NOT OF CYPRUS ALONE, BUT IN ENTIRE GREEK-TURKISH CONTEXT.

GREEK GENERAL STAFF HAS TOLD FONOFF THAT TURKISH EQUIPMENT LIST (EVEN AS CURRENTLY REDUCED THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS) IS UNJUSTIFIABLE. GREEK COMPROMISE RE UNACCEPTABLE ITEMS WOULD ENDANGER GREEK SECURITY. THEODOROPOULOS REMARKED TURKS SEEMED TO HAVE ADOPTED RUSSIAN GAMBIT OF STARTING FROM IMPOSSIBLE NEGOTIATING POSITION, THEN MAKING MINOR CONCESSIONS, AND THEN INSISTING ON SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS FROM NEGOTIATING PARTNER. THERE WAS IN FACT NO FURTHER ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION AND MAKARIOS WAS NOT LIKELY TO SUCCUMB TO PRESSURE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS AGAINST THE "BLACKMAIL" OF SEPTEMBER 14 DEADLINE.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13292, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 03-302

By 110, NARA, Date 2-23-04

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 406, SEPTEMBER 11, FROM ATHENS

THEODOROPOULOS STRONGLY DISCOUNTED NOTION THAT MAKARIOS WAS DELIBERATELY MANUFACTURING ISSUE WHICH HE COULD TAKE TO SECURITY COUNCIL. HE DID NOT BELIEVE MAKARIOS SAW ADVANTAGE IN OR INTENDED TO BRING ROTATION QUESTION TO SC. HE DID NOT RULE OUT, HOWEVER, POSSIBILITY THAT MAKARIOS MIGHT IN THE END FEEL FORCED TO RESORT TO SC IN EVENT IT WAS ONLY WAS

PAGE \$44471.-5 1325A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
TO FRUSTRATE HEAD-ON COLLISION.

THEODOROPOULOS RECALLED THAT REGARDING AN EARLIER ROTATION, EQUIPMENT IN DISPUTE HAD BEEN BROUGHT INTO CYPRUS BUT LEFT IN NON-TURKISH CUSTODY WHILE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN IRONED OUT RE ITEMS WHICH COULD BE DELIVERED INTO HANDS OF TURK CONTINGENT. HE POINTED OUT, HOWEVER, THAT ON THE PREVIOUS OCCASION THERE HAD BEEN NO PRIOR NEGOTIATION RE EQUIPMENT TO BE BROUGHT IN. HE DID NOT THINK THAT TECHNIQUE WOULD WORK AGAIN.

COMMENT: FACT THAT THEODOROPOULOS WELL PREPARED AND POSITIVE IN HIS RESPONSE SUGGESTS GOG HAS THOROUGHLY COORDINATED POSITION WITH GOC AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO WEIGH IN ON SIDE OF COMPROMISE.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ

BT NOTE: ADVANCE DELIVERY TO S/S-O AT 12:27 P.M., 9/11/65.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 114

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USIA

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD.

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SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS.

CIA

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WITH KANELLOPOULOS-PAPANDREOU DIALOGUE OUT OF WAY (EMBTel 394)

DOD

ATTENTION OF POLITICAL WORLD NOW FOCUSED ON EFFORTS TO

NIC

PROMOTE FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS AS LEADER OF

AID

COALITION GOVT. SERIES OF CONTACTS BY MAJOR FIGURES INVOLVED

PC

IN PLAN - - STEPHANOPOULOS, TSIRIMOKOS, MARKEZINIS AND

KANELLOPOULOS - - ARE UNDER WAY. MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS

IS FACT THAT APPARENTLY MOST OF ERE OPPOSED TO ERE PARTICI-

RSR

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1317A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PATION IN CU-LED COALITION AND WOULD PREFER INSTEAD TO GIVE  
SUPPORT IN PARL TO STEPHANOPOULOS GOVT WITHOUT ITSELF TAKING  
PART. HOWEVER, PROGRESSIVE LEADER MARKEZINIS IS INSISTING  
THAT CONDITION FOR HIS ENTRY INTO GOVT IS PARTICIPATION  
OF ERE.

FOR HIS PART, STEPHANOPOULOS REPORTEDLY INSISTING HE MUST  
HAVE FIRM COMMITMENT OF AT LEAST 151 DEPUTIES - - PREFERABLY  
MORE - - BEFORE HE AGREES TO PROCEED.

KING RECEIVED PRIMIN TSIRIMOKOS IN AUDIENCE FRIDAY. MEETING  
LASTED 45 MINUTES, AND UPON EMERGING TSIRIMOKOS SAID HE HAD  
DRIEFED KING ON SITUATION AND ON "PROGRESS OF CONTACTS AMONG

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 404, SEPTEMBER 10, FROM: ATHENS

PARTY LEADERS" AS REQUESTED BY KING AT END OF CROWN COUNCIL (EMBTel 353). PRIMIN STRESSED THAT KING WANTS SOLUTION AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, BUT ADDED THAT KING "DOES NOT WISH TO MAKE EXPERIMENTS," WHICH WAS CONSTRUED BY REPORTERS TO MEAN THAT KING WILL NOT GIVE MANDATE TO STEPHANOPOULOS OR ANYONE ELSE UNTIL HE IS ASSURED THAT PARLIAMENTARY VOTE OF CONFIDENCE CAN BE OBTAINED. TSIRIMOKOS SAID THAT HE WILL CONTINUE MEETING WITH VARIOUS PARTY LEADERS AND THAT "INITIATIVE" CAN BE EXPECTED FROM KING AT "BEGINNING OF NEXT WEEK."

GP-4. ANSCHUETZ

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

1. *Komer*  
2. *Ret Smith*  
22

81-80

~~SECRET~~

✓ *Bundy*

Action

~~INFO~~

NEA  
CONTROL: 85 68

Info RECD: SEPT 10, 1965 2:53 PM

RSR FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE IMMEDIATE 401

~~SECRET~~

ROGER CHANNEL

FOR TALBOT

REF: DEPTTEL 260

*Free*  
**SPECIAL HANDLING**

IN POLITICS WEALTHY GREEKS FOR MOST PART SNARL LIKE TIGERS BUT ACT LIKE PUSSY CATS. IN A SMALL, POOR COUNTRY LIKE GREECE MUCH OF THE PASSION FOR POLITICS DERIVES FROM FACT THAT POLITICS ALSO REPRESENTS STRUGGLE AMONG HIGHEST AND LOWEST STRATA OF POPULATION FOR ECONOMIC ADVANTAGE. IN GENERAL THE RICH SEEK TO PROTECT THEIR ADVANTAGES BY CONTRIBUTING TO BOTH SIDES. THEY ARE RELUCTANT TO PREJUDICE THEIR INTERESTS BY TAKING STRONGLY PARTISAN POSITIONS. WHEN SITUATION BECOMES DANGEROUS THEY EXPORT THEIR CAPITAL.

CORRUPTION IN BUSINESS AND PUBLIC LIFE IN GREECE IS TRADITIONALLY WIDESPREAD. RUMORS OF FINANCIAL INDUCEMENTS ARE USUALLY RIFE UNDER PRESENT TYPE CIRCUMSTANCES, ALTHOUGH IT IS FREQUENTLY IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE PRECISELY TO WHAT EXTENT SUCH RUMORS ARE ACCURATE. PALACE, COMMUNISTS, BRITISH, WEALTHY GREEKS, AMERICANS, ETC., CUSTOMARILY RECEIVE HONORABLE MENTION WHEN ATTRIBUTIONS ARE MADE. THE LOSER IN ANY POLITICAL CONTEST IS USUALLY QUICK TO ATTRIBUTE HIS DEFEAT TO OCCULT OR DISHONORABLE FACTORS.

IN EARLY 1950'S OVERWHELMING WEIGHT OF US INFLUENCE DERIVING FROM AMERICAN AID MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TAKE STRONG POLITICAL POSITION WITHOUT UNDUE RISK. NOW (AS SUGGESTED IN EMBTEL 369) THAT AMERICAN AID HAS VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED, AMERICAN EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE POLITICAL SOLUTIONS MUST BE CONDUCTED WITH GREATEST POSSIBLE DEFTNESS AND DISCRETION.

~~SECRET~~

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SANITIZED

E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 12-118

SEP 17 1965

By *UUD*

NARA, Date 03-23-2014

~~SECRET~~

-2- 401, SEPTEMBER 10, FROM: ATHENS

[REDACTED] NOW THAT  
KANELLOPOULOS-PAPANDREOU DIALOGUE HAS TERMINATED, ATTENTION  
SEEMS TO BE FIRMLY FIXED ON POSSIBILITIES OF FORMING GOVERN-  
MENT UNDER STEPHANOPOULOS. [REDACTED] KING IS REPORTED  
TO HAVE COMMENTED THAT IF STEPHANOPOULOS EFFORT FAILS, HE  
WOULD THEN ATTEMPT TO FORM GOVERNMENT OF NON-POLITICAL  
PERSONALITIES UNDER HEAD OF COUNCIL OF STATE MITRELLIOS,  
AND IF THIS FAILS IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO RESORT TO SOME SORT  
OF EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION. IF STEPHANOPOULOS FAILS TO  
FORM A GOVERNMENT I SUSPECT PAPANDEOU (#)  
ARPER AND PROSPECTS FOR A GOVERNMENT OF PER-  
SONALITIES CAPABLE OF ACTING RESOLUTELY WITH REGARD TO  
ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE VERY BRIGHT.

FOR THESE REASONS I BELIEVE WE MUST DO WHAT WE CAN WITHIN  
LIMITS OF DISCRETION (WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONDITION PRECEDENT  
OF OUR PROPOSAL) TO ENCOURAGE SUCCESS OF STEPHANOPOULOS EFFORT.  
IN SHORT, I PREFER TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMITMENT  
[REDACTED] TO ENCOURAGE A STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION THAN TO  
ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR SITUATION WHICH I FEAR MAY LEAD  
TO STEADY DETERIORATION OF THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND  
SECURITY SITUATION WITH DIRECTLY HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES FOR  
US POSITION, INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES HERE.

AT MOMENT IT IS CLEAR ERE WILL SUPPORT STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERN-  
MENT, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER ERE WILL PARTICIPATE IN  
CABINET. NOR IS IT CLEAR WHETHER MARKEZINIS WILL SUPPORT  
STEPHANOPOULOS WITHOUT ERE PARTICIPATION IN CABINET. IF THIS  
PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED SO THAT STEPHANOPOULOS INITIALLY  
ASSURED OF 144 VOTES, IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS FOR  
ADDITIONAL DEFECTIONS FROM PAPANDEOU CAMP WILL HAVE BEEN  
ESTABLISHED. WITH LUCK, IT MAY BE THAT SUFFICIENT NUMBER  
OF VOTES WILL BE OBTAINED [REDACTED]  
THIS CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY OUR OWN ESTIMATE OF SITUATION.  
ONCE IMPRESSION BECOMES WIDESPREAD THAT STEPHANOPOULOS WILL  
SUCCEED WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF FINAL VOTE WOULD BE  
SUBSTANTIALLY IN EXCESS OF NUMBER REQUIRED TO OBTAIN  
PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL, SINCE WE BELIEVE THERE IS A CONSID-

~~SECRET~~



Special Handling

Action

~~SECRET~~

INRD

INCOMING

CONTROL 8568

TELEGRAM

~~SECRET~~

CORRECTION ISSUED 9/11

Info:

4:50 a.m.

RSR

-2- 401, SEPTEMBER 10, FROM: ATHENS CORRECTED PAGE 2. 3

[REDACTED]

008

[REDACTED] NOW THAT KANELLOPOULOS-PAPANDREOU DIALOGUE HAS TERMINATED, ATTENTION SEEMS TO BE FIRMLY FIXED ON POSSIBILITIES OF FORMING GOVERNMENT UNDER STEPHANOPOULOS. [REDACTED] KING IS REPORTED TO HAVE COMMENTED THAT IF STEPHANOPOULOS EFFORT FAILS, HE WOULD THEN ATTEMPT TO FORM GOVERNMENT OF NON-POLITICAL PERSONALITIES UNDER HEAD OF COUNCIL OF STATE MITRELLIOS, AND IF THIS FAILS IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO RESORT TO SOME SORT OF EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION. IF STEPHANOPOULOS FAILS TO FORM A GOVERNMENT I SUSPECT PAPANDREOU'S INTRANSIGENCE WILL BECOME EVEN SHARPER AND PROSPECTS FOR A GOVERNMENT OF PERSONALITIES CAPABLE OF ACTING RESOLUTELY WITH REGARD TO ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE VERY BRIGHT.

FOR THESE REASONS I BELIEVE WE MUST DO WHAT WE CAN WITHIN LIMITS OF DISCRETION (WHICH HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONDITION PRECEDENT OF OUR PROPOSAL) TO ENCOURAGE SUCCESS OF STEPHANOPOULOS EFFORT. IN SHORT, I PREFER TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMITMENT [REDACTED] TO ENCOURAGE A STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION THAN TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR SITUATION WHICH I FEAR MAY LEAD TO STEADY DETERIORATION OF THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION WITH DIRECTLY HARMFUL CONSEQUENCES FOR US POSITION, INSTALLATIONS AND FACILITIES HERE.

AT MOMENT IT IS CLEAR ERE WILL SUPPORT STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER ERE WILL PARTICIPATE IN CABINET. NOR IS IT CLEAR WHETHER MARKEZINIS WILL SUPPORT STEPHANOPOULOS WITHOUT ERE PARTICIPATION IN CABINET. IF THIS PROBLEM CAN BE RESOLVED SO THAT STEPHANOPOULOS INITIALLY ASSURED OF 144 VOTES, IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL BASIS FOR ADDITIONAL DEFECTIONS FROM PAPANDREOU CAMP WILL HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED. WITH LUCK, IT MAY BE THAT SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF VOTES WILL BE OBTAINED [REDACTED] THIS CAN BE DETERMINED ONLY BY OUR OWN ESTIMATE OF SITUATION. ONCE IMPRESSION BECOMES WIDESPREAD THAT STEPHANOPOULOS WILL SUCCEED WE WOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF FINAL VOTE WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY IN EXCESS OF NUMBER REQUIRED TO OBTAIN PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL, SINCE WE BELIEVE THERE IS A CONSID-

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~~SECRET~~

-3- 401, SEPTEMBER 10, FROM: ATHENS

ERABLE NUMBER DEPUTIES IN PAPANDREOU CAMP WHO WILL DESERT HIM ONCE THEY ARE REASONABLY ASSURED THREAT OF ELECTIONS HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD OF TIME. BUT WE WOULD LIKE TO BE SURE IT WAS NOT FOR LACK OF CAREFULLY TIMED AND PLANNED EFFORT ON OUR PART THAT HANDFUL OF WAVERING DEPUTIES REMAINED IN PAPANDREOU CAMP AT CRUCIAL MOMENT.

AS APPARENT FROM FOREGOING, I CANNOT PREDICT CATEGORICALLY WHETHER CIRCUMSTANCES WILL EVOLVE IN MANNER

GP-1. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

(#) OMISSION, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

~~SECRET~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

*Bromley Smith*  
23

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 387

STATE GRNC

BT

UNCLAS SEPTEMBER 9

JOINT STATE/USIA MESSAGE

REF. EMB. WIROM 382

PRACTICALLY ALL ATHENS NEWSPAPERS AND GREEK RADIO REPORT TODAY THAT ASTRONAUTS CONRAD AND COOPER WILL BE IN ATHENS FOR MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL ASTRONAUTICAL FEDERATION. SOURCE IS REUTERS DISPATCH ATTRIBUTING INFORMATION TO "A NASA SPOKESMAN IN HOUSTON." NO DETAILS OR DATE OF VISIT GIVEN. VISIT ATHENS BY SOVIET COSMONAUTS WAS AFFIRMED BY SOVIET EMBASSY TO PRESS SERVICE REPORTER YESTERDAY. PUBLIC RELATIONS

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1267A UNCLAS

MAN FOR CONFERENCE SAID TODAY THERE IS SOME DOUBT THAT COSMONAUTS ACTUALLY WILL BE HERE. COSMONAUTS NOT MENTIONED TODAY BY COMMUNIST-LINE AVGHI, WHICH CARRIES ASTRONAUT STORY. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

NOTE: PASSED USIA AT 8:10 AM SEPTEMBER 9TH

06916

1965 SEP 9 AM 7 50

BUNBY SMITH  
BATOR  
BOWLER  
BOWMAN  
CHASE  
COOPER  
JESSUP  
JOHNSON  
KEENE  
KORNER  
MOODY

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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R 041930Z

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

DO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 365  
INFO RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 98  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 99

RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 103  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
STATE GRNC  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 04

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURRIS

USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS

GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS TOOK UNEXPECTED AND DRAMATIC TURN TODAY WHEN CU LEADER GEORGE PAPANDREOU ANNOUNCED THAT HE ACCEPTED "IN PRINCIPLE" FORMATION OF ERE GOVT "UNDER LEADERSHIP OF P. KANELLOPOULOS WHICH WILL DIRECT COUNTRY TO ELECTIONS WITHIN PERIOD PRESCRIBED BY CONSTITUTION" (45 DAYS). THUS PAPANDREOU ACCEPTED "CHALLENGE" POSED BY ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS BEFORE CROWN COUNCIL (EMBTel 362). ACCORDING TO PAPANDREOU SOURCES, TWO LEADERS WILL MEET TOMORROW MORNING TO DISCUSS QUESTION.

PRIMIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS HAD 1 1/2 HOUR AUDIENCE THIS MORNING WITH KING. ON EMERGING FROM PALACE, TSIRIMOKOS SAID HE HAD "REVIEWED POLITICAL SITUATION FOR KING." ASKED ABOUT PAPANDREOU'S ANNOUNCEMENT RE ELECTIONS UNDER ERE GOVT, TSIRIMOKOS SAID PAPANDREOU'S STAND WAS KNOWN AT TIME OF AUDIENCE WITH KING BUT THAT IT DID NOT RPT NOT COME UP FOR DISCUSSION BECAUSE "IT IS NOT YET FACT." ASKED BY AMERICAN REPORTER WHEN PAPANDREOU'S ACCEPTANCE WOULD BECOME "FACT", TSIRIMOKOS REPLIED: "WHEN PAPANDREOU AND KANELLOPOULOS MEET AND AGREE ON COMMON PROPOSAL, AT WHICH TIME THEY MUST PRESENT IT TO KING."

PAPANDREOU'S ACCEPTANCE OF KANELLOPOULOS' "DARE" IS CONSIDERED BY POLITICAL OBSERVERS TO BE CLEVER MOVE BY SQUIRE OF KASTRI. PALACE AND ERE DEPUTIES, WHO WERE TAKEN BY SURPRISE, WERE GENERALLY FURIOUS AT WHAT THEY REGARDED AS MAJOR BLUNDER ON PART OF PARTY'S LEADER. FORMER ERE FONMIN AVEROFF TOLD CHARGE LAST NIGHT THAT HE WAS APPALLED BY KANELLOPOULOS' OFFER TO ACCEPT MANDATE AND GO TO ELECTIONS WITHIN 45 DAYS.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 365, SEPTEMBER 4, FROM ATHENS

PALACE ALSO WAS REPORTEDLY ANGRY AT KANELLOPOULOS FOR UNDERMINING COMMON FRONT AGAINST PAPANDREOU AND BY ACCEPTING PRINCIPLE THAT UNDER SOME CONDITIONS ELECTIONS MIGHT NOT BE DISASTROUS FOR COUNTRY - - AS PALACE HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED.

KANELLOPOULOS WILL BE UNDER TREMENDOUS PRESSURE FROM WITHIN PARTY - - AND FROM PALACE - - TO BACK DOWN ON HIS OFFER. IF ERE LEADER AGREES, THERE ARE INFINITE VARIETY OF CONDITIONS HE COULD IMPOSE TO MAKE ELECTIONS UNDER HIS AEGIS DIFFICULT FOR PAPANDREOU TO ACCEPT. HOWEVER, IN EVENT KANELLOPOULOS DOES RETREAT UNDER SMOKESCREEN OF PRETENCES, HE WILL UNQUESTIONABLY HAVE SUFFERED BLOW TO HIS PRESTIGE BY MAKING DARE AND THEN WITHDRAWING WHEN PAPANDREOU ACCEPTED IT.

ONE ERE DEPUTY TOLD EMBOFF THIS AFTERNOON THAT KANELLOPOULOS DOES SINCERELY WANT ELECTIONS IN ORDER TO LIBERATE HIMSELF FROM SHADOW OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER KARAMANLIS AND BECOME UNDISPUTED LEADER OF HIS OWN PARTY - - TO BE SURE, ERE DEPUTY ADDED, "A SMALLER PARTY" THAN PRESENT 99 DEPUTIES. THIS SAME SOURCE ADDED THAT THERE IS MINORITY WITHIN ERE WHICH DOES WISH IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS, BUT THE VAST MAJORITY STRONGLY OPPOSES GOING TO POLLS LEST THEY ENDANGER THEIR SEATS IN PARL. IF KANELLOPOULOS PERSISTS IN DEMANDING MANDATE BE GIVEN HIM, PARTY WOULD BE FACING MAJOR CRISIS OF UNITY.

KING DEPARTS THIS EVENING FOR CORFU. HE IS EXPECTED TO RETURN TOMORROW AFTERNOON ACCOMPANIED BY HIS FAMILY, WHO WILL BE LEAVING SUMMER HOME AT CORFU TO RESUME RESIDENCE IN ATHENS. POLITICAL OBSERVERS BELIEVE THERE WILL BE NO ROYAL INITIATIVE BEFORE EARLY NEXT WEEK. STEPHANOPOULOS REMAINS FRONT RUNNER AMONG CANDIDATES FOR MANDATE, AND BEHIND SCENES ACTIVITY TO SUPPORT HIS CANDIDACY IS CONTINUING. IN ANY CASE, QUESTION OF KANELLOPOULOS' ACCEPTANCE OF MANDATE MUST BE DEALT WITH BEFORE PROCEEDING TO STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION.

PAPANDREOU WILL MAKE HIS SECOND "MARCH TO PEOPLE" WITH TOUR OF ISLAND OF CRETE WEEKEND OF SEPT 11-12. (FIRST MARCH TOOK PLACE AUG 21-22 IN THESSALY) ACCORDING TO PRO-PAPANDREOU SOURCES, LARGE NUMBER OF HIS DEPUTIES, INCLUDING SAVVAS PAPAPOLITIS, WILL MAKE TRIP TO CRETE WHERE PRO-PAPANDREOU SENTIMENT STRONG.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

25

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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1965 SEP 3 PM 2 52

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS/  
TY RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 362  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 98  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 97  
RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 102  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
STATE GRNC  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 03

USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD.

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS;

SECOND SESSION OF CROWN COUNCIL (EMBTel 353) ENDED EARLY THIS MORNING AFTER MORE THAN SIX HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS. ALL OF PREVIOUS DAY'S PARTICIPANTS WERE PRESENT WITH EXCEPTION OF 90-YEAR-OLD GONATAS.

WHEN SESSION ENDED KING ADDRESSED APPEAL TO PARTICIPANTS TO REMAIN IN CONTACT WITH ONE ANOTHER IN ORDER TO "FIND

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 1185A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOLUTION FROM CURRENT PARLIAMENT." PRIMIN TSIRIMOKOS AS WELL AS FORMER PRIMS PAPANDREOU AND KANELLOPOULOS MADE BRIEF STATEMENTS TO REPORTERS AS THEY EMERGED FROM PALACE. TSIRIMOKOS DESCRIBED SESSIONS AS "EXTREMELY USEFUL," AND ASSERTED THAT ALL THOSE PRESENT EXCEPT PAPANDREOU HAD AGREED THAT ELECTIONS SHOULD NOT TAKE PLACE IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. PAPANDREOU REPEATED DEMAND FOR ELECTIONS "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." WHEN ASKED FOR STATEMENTS, KIOUSOPOULOS AND PIPINELIS POINTED OUT THAT FULL PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS WOULD BE PUBLISHED.

ALTHOUGH PRIMIN TSIRIMOKOS ASSERTED THAT ALL THOSE PRESENT EXCEPT PAPANDREOU OPPOSED IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS THIS WAS NOT ALTOGETHER ACCURATE, SINCE ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS STATED THAT HE BELIEVED ERE SHOULD BE GIVEN MANDATE WITH RIGHT TO DISSOLVE PARL AND HOLD ELECTIONS UNDER ERE AEGIS, (ALTHOUGH KANELLOPOULOS ALSO DECLARED HE WOULD SUPPORT COALITION GOVERNMENT). PRESUMABLY THIS LAST PROVISION - - THAT ERE CONDUCT ELECTIONS - - WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PAPANDREOU AND THEREFORE OFFER TO GO TO ELECTIONS WOULD SEEM TO BE PURELY PSYCHOLOGICAL GESTURE TO SHOW ERE UNAFRAID OF ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, ERE SOURCES WERE REPORTEDLY DISSATISFIED WITH KAN-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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~~DECLASSIFIED~~

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By abm NARA Date 6-26-03



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 362, SEPTEMBER 3, FROM: ATHENS

ELLOPOULOS STATEMENT BECAUSE (1) IT MARRED WHAT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN UNITED FRONT AGAINST PAPANDREOU ON SUBJECT OF ELECTIONS AND (2) BECAUSE OF OUTSIDE POSSIBILITY THAT PAPANDREOU, WHO WANTS ELECTIONS AT ALL COSTS, MIGHT ACCEPT KANELLOPOULOS' DARE AND AGREE TO ELECTIONS CONDUCTED BY ERE.

REPORTEDLY, PRIMIN TSIRIMOLOS WILL NOW HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN CROWN COUNCIL IN EFFORT TO FORMULATE COMMON LINE. PAPANDREOU WOULD PRESUMABLY REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH EFFORT. POLITICAL OBSERVERS WERE STRUCK BY FACT THAT KING IN SENSE TOSSED BALL BACK TO POLITICAL LEADERS TO FIND SOLUTION, RATHER THAN ADOPTING INITIATIVE FOLLOWING HIS TALKS WITH THEM, AS HE HAD STATED PRIOR TO PREVIOUS DAY'S SESSION. (EMBTel 353)

ONE EFFECT OF CROWN COUNCIL - - WHICH ESSENTIALLY WAS EXERCISE IN IMAGERY - - WAS TO PUBLICLY DRAMATIZE ISOLATION OF PAPANDREOU AMONG COUNTRY'S MAJOR POLITICAL LEADERS IN HIS INSISTENCE UPON ELECTIONS (WITH EXCEPTION OF KANELLOPOULOS' LINE DESCRIBED ABOVE). OTHERWISE THERE WAS NO CHANGE IN BASIC POSITIONS AND EXPECTEDLY, NO AGREEMENT WAS REACHED. THERE IS GENERAL BELIEF AMONG POLITICAL OBSERVERS THAT KING WILL MOVE

PAGE 4, RUQMAT 1185A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SLOWLY BEFORE OFFERING MANDATE TO STEPHANOPOULOS OR ANYONE ELSE, AND IN FACT KING'S APPEAL TO POLITICAL LEADERS TO WORK OUT SOLUTION REINFORCES BELIEF THAT PALACE IS IN NO HURRY TO ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH NEW GOVERNMENT. THIS POLICY IS APPARENTLY BASED ON BELIEF IN PALACE CIRCLES THAT TIME WORKING FOR KING AND THAT WITH PASSAGE OF SUFFICIENT TIME PAPANDREOU'S POSITION, BOTH IN PARL AND AMONG PUBLIC, WILL BE ERODED. HOWEVER, THIS THESIS YET TO BE PROVED, AND AS POINTED OUT IN EMBTEL 324, CONTINUATION OF DEATH STRUGGLE BETWEEN KING AND PAPANDREOU INEVITABLY ERODES PALACE'S PRESTIGE AS WELL.

YESTERDAY'S MEETING OF LEFTIST "LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS" WAS HELD WITHOUT INCIDENT, AND PARTICIPANTS DISPERSED QUIETLY AFTER MEETING ENDED.

PRINCE PETER, COUSIN OF KING CONSTANTINE, AND LONG AT ODDS WITH ROYAL FAMILY BECAUSE OF DISAGREEMENT WITH QUEEN FREDERIKA, HAS ENTERED INTO CURRENT CRISIS WITH INTER-VIEW GIVEN TO CORRESPONDENT OF PRO-PAPANDREOU VIMA IN PARIS. PETER WAS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT CURRENT SITUATION IN GREECE "CONSTITUTES DEPARTURE FROM CONSTITUTION AND PARLIAMENTARY TRADITION. THIS DEPARTURE IS PERHAPS NOT SO MUCH FROM LETTER OF CONSTITU-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- 362, SEPTEMBER 3, FROM: ATHENS

TION AS FROM ITS SPIRIT..." PETER POINTEDLY REMARKED THAT HIS GRANDFATHER, GEORGE I, WHO REIGNED FOR 50 YEARS, "USED TO SAY" "IN CASE OF RIFT, IT IS BETTER FOR KING TO RETREAT, RATHER THAN NATION." PETER SAID THAT THE CROWN CAN EXIST ONLY "BY RESPECTING LAWS OF DEMOCRATIC - - PARLIAMENTARY - - TRADITION."

COMMENTING ON PRINCE PETER'S REMARKS, PRIMIN TSIRIMOKOS LAST NIGHT STATED THAT ENTIRE CROWN COUNCIL "DISAPPROVES OF PRINCE PETER'S INTERFERENCE IN GREECE'S INTERNAL POLITICS FROM WHICH HE SHOULD STRICTLY ABSTAIN." APPARENTLY FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU JOINED IN CONDEMNATION, WHICH WAS BROADCAST THIS MORNING OVER ATHENS RADIO.

KING LEFT TODAY FOR CORFU WHERE HE MAY STAY THROUGH WEEKEND.

GP-4. ANSCHUETZ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

26

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

01966

1965 SEP 2 PM 2 48

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEAC/SECSTATE WASHDC 353  
INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 101  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 95  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 94  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
STATE GRNC  
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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SEPTEMBER 02

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS; USDOCOSOUTH FOR MORRIS

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS

CROWN COUNCIL, COMPOSES OF 10 FORMER PRIMINISTERS AND ONE PARTY LEADER (MARKEZINIS) MET FOR FOUR HOURS YESTERDAY WITH KING CONSTANTINE TO CONSIDER POLITICAL CRISIS. SINCE ONLY EIGHT OF THOSE PRESENT SPOKE, SESSION WILL CONTINUE TONIGHT TO GIVE REMAINING THREE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS.

THOSE PRESENT AT CROWN COUNCIL WERE PRIMIN ETSAS TSIRIMOKOS AND FORMER PRIMINS PAPANDEOU, NOVAS, KANELLOPOULOS, HOVAS, PARASKEVOPOULOS, DOVAS, KIOUSOPOULOS, TSALDARIS, PIPINELIS, GONATAS, AND PROGRESSIVE HEAD MARKEZINIS.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1147A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
THE 90 YEAR OLD GONATAS, EXHAUSTED BY DELIBERATIONS, LEFT MEETING AFTER ONLY TWO HOURS.

AT OUTSET KING CONSTANTINE ADDRESSED APPEAL TO ASSEMBLED LEADERS TO FIND SOLUTION TO CURRENT CRISIS WHICH HE SAID POSED SERIOUS DANGERS FOR "COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION, DEVELOPMENT OF GREAT NATIONAL QUESTION OF CYPRUS AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION." NOTING THAT INTENSIFICATION OF POLITICAL PASSIONS TENDS TO UNDERMINE "SPIRITUAL UNITY" OF COUNTRY, KING SAID THAT BEFORE HE APPOINTED NEW GOVT, THOUGHT IT WOULD BE "USEFUL" TO CONSULT COUNTRY'S LEADEROM REFERRING TO PAPANDEOU'S OF-MADE STATEMENT THAT PEOPLE GOVERN WHILE KING REIGNS, KING SAID THAT "NO ONE DISAGREES WITH PRINCIPLE THAT IN OUR REGIME IT IS PEOPLE WHO GOVERN

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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-2-353, September 2, from: Athens

THROUGH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN PARL WHOSE CONFIDENCE GOVT MUST HAVE." HOWEVER, HE ADDED THAT IN HIS OPINION EACH PARL "SHOULD LAST AS LONG AS PROVIDED BY CONSTITUTION," SAYING IN EFFECT THAT IT SHOULD SERVE OUT ITS FULL FOUR YEARS.

ACCORDING TO PRESS, ONLY PAPANDREOU AND GONATAS SUPPORTED IDEA OF IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS. WITH NOVAS, DOVAS, TSALDARIS, MARKEZINIS, AND KIOUSOPOULOS REPORTEDLY BACKING COALITION GOVT. ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS REITERATED HIS VIEW, THAT ANOTHER GOVT SHOULD

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1147A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
NOT BE FORMED FROM CU AND THAT MANDATE SHOULD BE GIVEN TO ERE TOGETHER WITH RIGHT TO DISSOLVE PARL AND CONDUCT ELECTIONS UNDER ERE AEGIS.

PIPINELIS, PARASKEVOPOULOS AND TSIRIMOKOS WILL SPEAK TONIGHT.

AS IT BECOMES INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT MOST OF THOSE PRESENT AT CROWN COUNCIL OPPOSE IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS, IN EFFECT ISOLATING PAPANDREOU AS ONLY EXPONENT OF THIS COURSE OF ACTION, PRO-PAPANDREOU PRESS HAS STEPPED UP ITS ATTACKS ON COUNCIL. IN PARTICULAR, CU PAPERS HIT HARD AT KING'S STATEMENT THAT PARL SHOULD ALWAYS SERVE OUT ITS FOUR YEARS, WITH TO VIMA NOTING THAT ONLY FOUR TIMES IN THIS CENTURY HAS PARL SERVED ITS FULL TERM.

YESTERDAY EVENING SOME 3,000 STUDENTS HELD RALLY AT UNIVERSITY IN SUPPORT OF PAPANDREOU. ALTHOUGH RALLY WAS CALLED BY NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION EFEE, WHICH IS NOMINALLY UNDER CONTROL OF CU STUDENTS, LEFTIST INFLUENCE WAS APPARENT IN ANTI-AMERICAN AND ANTI-MONARCHIST SLOGANS AND PLACARDS. HEAVILY REINFORCED POLICE UNITS WATCHED RALLY BUT DID NOT INTERFERE, AND DEMONSTRATORS DISPERSED WITHOUT INCIDENT AFTER MARCHING TO OMONIA SQUARE.

- PAGE 4 RUQMAT 1147A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
TONIGHT SO-CALLED "LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS" IS HOLDING MEETING INSIDE GLORIA THEATER, AFTER ITS REQUEST TO HOLD OUTDOOR RALLY AT DOWNTOWN SQUARE WAS REFUSED BY POLICE.

WHILE CROWN COUNCIL GOES ON UNDER PUBLIC EYE, BEHIND SCENE EFFORTS ON PART OF CU "DEFECTORS" CONTINUE TO PROMOTE FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN ELEPHANOPOYOS AS NEXT PRIMIN. MAIN OBSTACLE TO THIS PLAN IS FACT THAT WHILE CU "DEFECTORS" BELIEVE THAT ONLY WAY TO OBTAIN VOTES OF ENOUGH SO-FAR UNCOMMITTED

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-3-353, September 2, from: Athens

CU DEPUTIES IS TO KEEP ERE OUT OF COALITION WHILE OBTAINING ERE SUPPORT IN PARL, MARKEZINIS WANTS COALITION GOVT BASED ON CU, ERE, AND PROGRESSIVES. NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE.

THERE WILL LIKELY BE NO NEWSPAPERS TOMORROW DUE TO PLANNED "24-HOUR STRIKE OF PRINTERS PROTESTING CURRENT POLITICAL ANOMALY."

GP-3

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

27

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Action

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Info

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INFO RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 95

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 30

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SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

USIA

NSC

WITH FATE OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT DECIDED, ATTENTION OF POLITICAL WORLD NOW TURNED TOWARDS NEXT MOVE OF KING. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION THAT KING WILL SUMMON "CROWN COUNCIL" MADE UP OF LEADERS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND FORMER PRIMINS. IN CONVERSATION WITH CHARGE THIS MORNING, KING'S POLITICAL ADVISOR HOIDAS INDICATED THAT KING'S NEXT STEP COULD BE CONVO- CATION OF CROWN COUNCIL, FOLLOWED BY ATTEMPT TO FORM COALITION.

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PAGE TWO RUQMAT 1065A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GOVT MADE UP OF ALL NATIONALIST PARTIES. MAIN OBSTACLE TO CROWN COUNCIL IS LINE OF FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU THAT HE WOULD NOT JOIN IN ANY CONFERENCE TO WHICH "FALSE PRIMINS NOVAS AND TSIRIMOKOS" ARE INVITED. IF PAPANDREOU PERSISTS IN THIS LINE, KING MUST DECIDE WHETHER TO ABANDON PLAN FOR

CROWN COUNCIL TO GO AHEAD WITHOUT HEAD OF LARGEST BLOC IN PARLIAMENT.

PRIMIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS WENT TO PALACE LAST NIGHT TO SUBMIT RESIGNATION AND GIVE KING HIS VIEWS ON FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION. / ON EMERGING FROM AUDIENCE TSIRIMOKOS TOLD REPORTERS THAT KING "FULLY AWARE OF GRAVITY OF CRISIS" AND WANTS TO FIND "RAPID SOLUTION" BUT WILL TAKE DECISION "ONLY AFTER THOROUGH STUDY OF SITUATION." LATER, JOKING WITH REPORTERS, PRIMIN SAID "CIRCE OF PALACE" HAD "ATTRACTED 26 CU DEPUTIES IN FIRST BID (NOVAS GOVT) AND 11 IN SECOND AND NEXT TIME HE MIGHT MAKE IT."

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-2- 328, AUGUST 30, FROM: ATHENS

THIS MORNING ALMOST ALL OF 37 CU DEPUTIES WHO VOTED IN FAVOR OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT MET TO CONSIDER FORMATION OF NEW PARTY BUT AVOIDED TAKING DECISION. TSIRIMOKOS WILL SEE KING THIS EVENING WHEN LATTER RETURNS FROM ONE-DAY TRIP TO CORFU.

ONLY COMMENT SO FAR FROM PAPANDREOU ON DEFEAT OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT WAS STATEMENT TO REPORTERS SUNDAY MORNING THAT "TRAITORS HAVE BEEN PUNISHED." SHORTLY BEFORE VOTE IN PARL, ERE LEADER

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 1065A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
KANTELLOPOULOS TOLD DEPUTIES THAT IF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT FELL, HE WOULD "CLAIM MANDATE" FOR ERE. KANTELLOPOULOS ALSO WARNED THAT ERE WOULD ABSTAIN FROM ANY ELECTIONS HELD IN FUTURE IF "TERRORISM CARRIED OUT IN COUNTRYSIDE" BY EXTREME LEFTIST GROUPS IS NOT DISCONTINUED.

FACT THAT FOUR PROGRESSIVE DEPUTIES ABSTAINED FROM SUNDAY MORNING'S VOTING AND DID NOT FOLLOW PARTY LEADER MARKEZINIS IN VOTING DOWN TSIRIMOKOS GOVT HAS GIVEN RISE TO REPORTS THAT PROGRESSIVES MAY BE SPLITTING. PARTY LEADER MARKEZINIS ISSUED STATEMENT TODAY ASSERTING THAT FOUR DEPUTIES HAD ORIGINALLY PLANNED TO VOTE IN FAVOR OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT BUT FOLLOWING HIS DECISION TO VOTE AGAINST GOVT, DEPUTIES HAD ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED PERMISSION TO ABSTAIN. THEREFORE, STATEMENT CONCLUDED, PROGRESSIVE PARTY REMAINS INTACT.

FINAL AND OFFICIAL COUNT OF SUNDAY MORNING'S VOTE IS AS FOLLOWS: IN FAVOR OF GOVT, 135 VOTES (98 ERE AND 37 CU); AGAINST, 159 (134 CU, 22 EDA, AND 3 MARKEZINIS); ABSTENTIONS 6, (5 PROGRESSIVES AND 1 ERE).

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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Action

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INFO RUFCJ/AMEMBASSY PARIS 83

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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 86

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 88

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UNCLAS AUGUST 29

RGR

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS: USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

PARL EARLY THIS MORNING VOTED DOWN GOVT OF PRIMIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS

FOLLOWING FIVE DAYS OF DEBATE. FINAL (AND UNOFFICIAL) COUNT WAS

135 IN FAVOR OF GOVT, 159 AGAINST, WITH SIX ABSTENTIONS.

NINETY EIGHT ERE DEPUTIES AND 37 CU DEPUTIES VOTED IN FAVOR,

WHILE 135 CU DEPUTIES, 22 EDA, AND 2 MARKEZINIS PROGRESSIVES

VOTED AGAINST. FIVE MARKEZINIS DEPUTIES AND ONE ERE DEPUTY

(A. KARAMANLIS, BROTHER OF FORMER PRIMIN) ABSTAINED.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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Action  
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Info

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DE RUQMAT 1035A 2391525

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC (317)

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 84

EUR

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 86

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 91

USIA

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

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STATE GRNC

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 27

CIA

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS, USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

NSA

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

DOD

HOPES OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVERNMENT TO RECEIVE CONFIDENCE  
VOTE RECEIVED MAJOR SETBACK LAST NIGHT WHEN PROGRESSIVE LEADER  
MARKEZINIS TOLD PARL THAT HE WOULD VOTE AGAINST GOVERNMENT.  
DECISION IS PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT SINCE EIGHT VOTES OF  
MARKEZINIS' PROGRESSIVES HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED AS POSSIBLE KEY  
TO SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVERNMENT (EMBTCL 312).  
PRIMIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS TOLD EMBOFF LATE LAST NIGHT THAT

AID

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PAGE 2 RUQMAT 1035A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
MARKEZINIS' ACTION HAD DEALT "PSYCHOLOGICAL" BLOW TO HIS  
GOVERNMENT'S HOPES SINCE NUMBER OF WAVERING CU DEPUTIES WERE  
WAITING TO SEE WHAT COURSE MARKEZINIS WOULD FOLLOW; NOW THAT  
PROGRESSIVE LEADER HAS DECLARED AGAINST TSIRIMOKOS, THESE  
DEPUTIES WILL BE RELUCTANT TO EXPOSE THEMSELVES TO PAPANDREOU'S  
WRATH BY VOTING FOR WHAT MAY WELL BE LOST CAUSE. SOME  
PRO-TSIRIMOKOS CIRCLES HAVE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT SEVERAL OF  
MARKEZINIS' DEPUTIES MAY DEFY PARTY DISCIPLINE AND VOTE FOR  
GOVERNMENT.

IN HIS SPEECH MARKEZINIS BASED HIS OPPOSITION TO  
TSIRIMOKOS GOVERNMENT ON FOLLOWING POINTS: (1) TSIRIMOKOS  
GOVERNMENT IS NEITHER GOVERNMENT OF CENTER NOR OTHER PARTY  
BUT ONLY OF CERTAIN DEPUTIES FROM CU BASED ON SUPPORT FROM  
ERE PARTY; SUCH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE CAPTIVE OF RIGHT AND  
UNABLE TO FACE MAJOR PROBLEMS CONFRONTING GREECE TODAY;

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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-2-317, August 27, from: Athens

(2) GOVERNMENT HAS NO PROGRAM; (3) DANGER TO PUBLIC ORDER WILL INCREASE SINCE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS ONLY ONE SECTION OF CU; AND (4) PRESENT GOVERNMENT BASED ON "EXPEDIENCY" WHICH SETS UNFORTUNATE EXAMPLE FOR COUNTRY'S YOUTH.

MARKEZINIS SAID ONLY SOLUTION TO CURRENT CRISIS IS CREATION OF COALITION GOVERNMENT WITH "BROADEST POSSIBLE BASIS."

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 1035A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
HE CHARGED THAT CU "FORFEITED" ITS RIGHT TO BE GOVERNING PARTY WHEN IT SPLIT, AND SAID KING SHOULD NOT HAVE SOUGHT TO FORM PARTY FROM CU -- ALTHOUGH HE ADDED THAT KING'S HANDLING OF CRISIS WAS "CONSTITUTIONALLY UNIMPEACHABLE." PROGRESSIVE LEADER CLAIMED THAT "UNITED, NATIONAL CAMP HAS IMMENSE POSSIBILITIES," AND ASSERTED THAT DEPUTIES OF ALL PARTIES WOULD ASSIST IN EFFORT TO FIND WAY OUT OF CURRENT CRISIS. MARKEZINIS SAID THAT AT FUTURE DATE ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD BUT THAT UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS, IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS ARE OUT OF QUESTION. PROGRESSIVE LEADER ALSO REPEATED HIS OF-MADE PROPOSAL FOR LEGALIZATION OF GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY (KKE).

LATE LAST NIGHT TSIRIMOKOS ISSUED STATEMENT CLAIMING THAT MARKEZINIS' STAND INCREASED CHANCES OF HIS GOVERNMENT OBTAINING CONFIDENCE VOTE SINCE HESITANT CU DEPUTIES WILL NOW UNDERSTAND THAT IF HIS GOVERNMENT FALLS KING WILL MOVE TO COALITION OR RIGHTIST GOVERNMENT INSTEAD OF SEEKING ANOTHER FIGURE FROM CU. THIS SAME LINE IS FOLLOWED TODAY BY PRO-GOVT ELEFThERIA, WHICH WARNS IN HEADLINES THAT TSIRIMOKOS GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS LAST HOPE OF FORMING CENTER GOVERNMENT

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 1035A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ADDING "RIGHT CLAIMS POWER." (HOWEVER IN VIEW OF PRIVATE ADMISSION OF PRIMIN HIMSELF THAT HIS CAUSE HAD RECEIVED PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOW, CLAIM THAT SITUATION IMPROVED WOULD APPEAR TO BE DESPERATE EFFORT TO MINIMIZE DAMAGE DONE TO GOVERNMENT'S CHANCES BY MARKEZINIS' POSITION).

IN VIEW OF THIS LATEST DEVELOPMENT, POLITICAL OBSERVERS FEEL TSIRIMOKOS' CHANCES NOW SLIM INDEED AND SPECULATION NOW CENTERED ON WHAT KING'S NEXT MOVE MIGHT BE. PARL WILL RESUME DELIBERATIONS THIS EVENING, WITH VOTE OF CONFIDENCE TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW (SATURDAY) NOON, ALTHOUGH THERE IS ☐SIGHT POSSIBILITY IT MIGHT TAKE PLACE LATE TONIGHT.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 280

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INFO RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 81

SAH

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 72

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 73

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUG 20

USIA

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PARIS FOR BURNS AND JAMES; USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

INR

EMBASSY HAS FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON CABINET OF PRIMIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS, SWORN IN TODAY (EMBTel 278):

CIA

1) FACT THAT IN NEW CABINET ONLY 11 NEW CU NAMES WERE ADDED TO FOUR HOLDOVERS: FROM NOVAS GOVT IS PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOW--

NSA

ALTHOUGH NOT NECESSARILY FATAL ONE-- TO HOPES OF TSIRIMOKOS TO OBTAIN VOTE OF CONFIDENCE IN PARL. ,NEW GOVT NEEDS MINIMUM 27 NEW

DOD

VOTES FROM CU TO ADD TO 99 ERE VOTES AND 25 FROM NOVAS GOVT IN ORDER TO HAVE REQUIRED MAJORITY OF 151. (WE HAVE

RSR

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 899A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTS SOME ERE DEPUTIES MAY ABSTAIN ON CONFIDENCE VOTE.)

LARGER NUMBER OF NAMES FROM CU RANKS WOULD HAVE GIVEN

PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO TSIRIMOKOS HOPES OF OBTAINING CONFIDENCE

VOTE. HOWEVER, NUMBER OF DEPUTIES ARE CURRENTLY FENCE SITTING

AND WHILE NOT WISHING TO BE IDENTIFIED THIS EARLY WITH TSIRI-

MOKOS GOVT MIGHT NEVERTHELESS GIVE IT THEIR SUPPORT AT TIME

OF VOTING.

2) FURTHER SIGN OF WEAKNESS IS FACT THAT WITH EXCEPTION OF

FOUR HOLD-OVERS FROM NOVAS GOVT--KOSTOPOULOS, ALLAMANIS,

TOUMBAS AND PAPASPYROU--AND DEPUTIES SAVVOPOULOS ZAINIS AND

RENDIS, OTHER MEMBERS OF NEW GOVT ARE RELATIVELY UNKNOWN.

(ALL, WITH EXCEPTION OF TSIRIMOKOS FOLLOWER GALINOS, ARE

CONSIDERED TO BELONG TO CONSERVATIVE WING OF CU.)

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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-2- 280, AUGUST 20, FROM: ATHENS

3) IT IS EXPECTED THAT LARGER NUMBER OF MINISTERS FROM NOVAS GOVT WILL BE INCLUDED IN TSIRIMOKOS CABINET IF AND WHEN GOVT OBTAINS CONFIDENCE VOTE. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF NOVAS MINISTERS MITSOTAKIS AND PROBABLY BAKATSELOS, WHO WOULD BE EXPECTED TO ENTER TSIRIMOKOS GOVT AFTER IT WINS CONFIDENCE VOTE. THERE WAS DISINCLINATION TO INCLUDE THEM NOW, LEST NEW GOVT BE CHARGED WITH BEING NOVAS GOVT "IN DISGUISE" WITH ONLY PRIMIN CHANGED.

4) POLITICAL OBSERVERS CONSIDER THAT ON PRESENT SHOWING, CHANCES OF TSIRIMOKOS GOVT OBTAINING CONFIDENCE VOTE ARE SLIM. HOWEVER, TSIRIMOKOS PLANS TO WAGE HARD-HITTING CAMPAIGN TO WIN SUPPORT FOR HIS GOVT. HE IS TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TO HOLD PRESS CONVERENCE TONIGHT AND WILL BROADCAST TO NATION TOMORROW NIGHT OVER RADIO. UNLIKE NOVAS, HE IS EFFECTIVE SPEAKER AND CLEVER TACTICIAN--PERHAPS ONLY POLITICIAN IN GREECE WHO IS IN SAME CLASS WITH APAPANDREOU IN THESE AREAS.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 71

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 80

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CIA

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS; USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

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AS GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS ENTERS ITS FIFTH WEEK IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT VIABLE SOLUTION TO PRESENT ANOMALY IS NOWHERE IN SIGHT. EVEN IF TSIRIMOKOS EFFORT TO FORM GOVT IS SUCCESSFUL--WHICH DOES NOT SEEM TOO LIKELY AS OF THIS WRITING--COUNTRY MUST EXPECT TURMOIL FOR MONTHS TO COME. WHATEVER GOVT IS FORMED UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE AN UNSTABLE ONE, WITH A RAZOR-THIN MAJORITY IN PARL. IF TSIRIMOKOS DOES INDEED SECURE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE NEXT WEEK, HIS CONTINUATION IN POWER WILL BE DEPENDENT ON OVTES OF AN EXTREMELY DISPARATE GROUP, RANGING FROM RIGHTIST ERE TO HIS OWN CENTRE-LEFTIST FOLLOWERS, AND WILL COUNT FOR SUPPORT UPON SUCH UNPREDICTABLE PERSONALITIES AS PROGRESSIVE LEADER MARKEZINIS AND EPEK HEAD PAPAPOLITIS, ANYONE OF WHOM COULD SUDDENLY PULL RUG OUT FROM UNDER TSIRIMOKOS GOVT BY WITHDRAWING SUPPORT.

EVEN MORE SERIOUS IN ITS EFFECT

ON POLITICAL STABILITY IS FACT THAT FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU AND HIS FOLLOWERS WILL BE TOURING COUNTRY, BEGINNING TOMORROW, IN EFFORT TO KEEP ATMOSPHERE AS TURBULENT AS POSSIBLE. CONTINUED DEMOSTRATIONS BOTH IN ATHENS AND IN PROVINCES ARE IN PROSPECT, CREATING CONDITIONS HARDLY CONCUVIVE TO SERIOU DELIBERATION BY PARL IN SESSION. ALTHOUGH DEMOSTRATIONS HAVE BEEN FREQUENT,

FEW HAVE BEEN MARKED BY VIOLENCE. EVENTUALLY SERIOUS VIOLENCE MAY TAKE PLACE, PARTICULARLY IF PAPANDREOU SUPPORTERS FEEL THEIR OWN STRENGTH EBBING. AND OF COURSE IF PAPANDREOU TAKES TO ROAD ERE PARTY MAY CONSIDER IT HAS TO DO LIKEWISE UNLESS IT WISHES TO LEAVE FIELD TO PAPANDREOU FORCES.

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Authority FRUS, Vol. XVI, #202

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-24-03



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-2- 279, AUGUST 20, FROM: ATHENS

UNFORTUNATELY, THIS PROSPECT OF CONTINUED POLITICAL INSTABILITY COMES AT TIME WHEN GREECE IS FACING PROBLEMS OF MAJOR DIMENSIONS BOTH ON DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN FRONTS. ALTHOUGH CYPRUS HAS BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET DURING FIRST MONTH OF GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS, IT IS AT LEAST QUESTIONABLE WHETHER IT WILL CONTINUE TO REMAIN SO IN MONTHS AHEAD. EQUALLY URGENT ARE PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, CHARACTERIZED BY THE CONTINUED FALL IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES AND AN INCREASING TRADE IMBALANCE. BUSINESS CONFIDENCE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE DEEPLY SHAKEN IF PROSPECTS FOR EVENTUAL STABLE GOVT DO NOT IMPROVE.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 898A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
A GOVT WITHOUT A SOLID FOUNDATION--EITHER IN PARL OR AMONG GENERAL PUBLIC--WILL HARDLY BE IN POSITION TO MAKE FIRM (AND PROBABLY UNPOPULAR) DECISIONS IN THE COMING MONTHS.

IN ADDITION TO PROSPECTS FOR CONTINUED INSTABILITY, TWO ASPECTS OF CURRENT CRISIS ARE PARTICULARLY DISTURBING. FIRST IS THAT AS RESULT EFFORTS TO PREVENT EXTENSION PAPANDREOU'S INFLUENCE INTO MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES, KING HAD DIRECTLY DESCENDED INTO POLITICAL AREA WITH RESULT THAT THE "RDZIME" ISSUE HAS GRADUALLY ARISEN. AND THIS DESPITE REPEATED DENIALS OF PAPANDREOU THAT THERE IS ANY "QUESTION OF MONARCHY" INVOLVED OR THAT CU WOULD RAISE IT IN FUTURE ELECTIONS.

ANTI-ROYALISM SENTIMENT IS BEING CONTINUOUSLY INFLAMED BY SUCH PRO-PAPANDREOU PUBLICATIONS AS POWERFUL LAMBRAKIS SYNDICATE (TO VIMA AND TA NEA) WHICH DAILY CARRY ATTACKS ON KING.

VIMA FOR EXAMPLE RECENTLY CARRIED EDITORIAL CRITICAL OF KING UNDER HEADING: "CROWN SHOWING CONTEMPT FOR PEOPLE." SLOGANS CHANTED AND PARADED BY LEFTIST-LED DEMOSTRATORS FOR PAPANDREOU ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY BOLD; ALTHOUGH INITIALLY ANTI-MONARCHIST SLOGANS CONCENTRATED ON QUEEN MOTHER ("THE GERMAN WOMAN MUST GO"), IN RECENT DAYS THEY HAVE INCLUDED KING HIMSELF. ONE BANNER IN AUG 17 DEMOSTRATIONS READ "PEOPLE DON'T WANT YOU--TAKE YOUR MOTHER AND GO." THUS, REGARDLESS OF PROMISES OF PAPANDREOU CAMP THAT THEY ARE NOT RAISING MONARCHIST ISSUE, IN EFFECT IT HAS ALREADY BEEN RAISED.

SECOND DISTURBING ASPECT IS ACHIEVEMENT OF EXTREME LEFT IN MAKING ITS CATCHWORDS THE SLOGANS OF CENTER THROUGH ITS COLLABORATION "AT THE BASE" WITH FOLLOWERS OF GEORGE PAPANDREOU. FOR FIRST TIME SINCE BANDIT WAR COMMUNISTS ARE NO LONGER ISOLATED BUT HAVE SUCCEEDED IN MERGING AT POPULAR LEVEL WITH MUCH LARGER MASSES OF CENTER. IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE

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-3- 279, AUGUST 20, FROM: ATHENS

WHAT IS COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION AND WHAT IS NOT, SINCE SLOGANS HAVE BECOME VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL, EXCEPT THAT COMMUNISTS CLEVERLY INSERT SLOGANS PECULIARLY THEIR OWN ON SUCH NON-GREEK TOPICS AS VIETNAM, "IMPERIALISM," ETC. WHILE CU SUPPORTER PROVIDE BULK OF DEMONSTRATORS, COMMUNISTS OFTEN PROVIDE LEADERSHIP AND HENCE ARE ABLE TO CONTROL DEMONSTRATIONS.

IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ANY LONG-TERM SOLUTION TO CURRENT CRISIS MUST COME THROUGH ELECTIONS, HOWEVER DISTASTEFUL THIS MAY BE TO MANY QUARTERS, INCLUDING THE PALACE. AS OF NOW CROWN MAINTAINS (QUITE RIGHTLY) THAT PRESENT CLIMATE IS COMPLETELY UNSUITABLE FOR ELECTIONS, AND ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN IN CURRENT TENSE ATMOSPHERE WOULD VERY PROBABLY BE CHARACTERIZED BY SERIOUS VIOLENCE. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT FROM THE PALACE AND CONSERVATIVE POINT OF VIEW, BECAUSE CURRENT TIDE RUNNING IN PAPANDREOU'S FAVOR, FORMER PRIME MINISTER MIGHT WELL EQUAL HIS 1964 FEAT OF 53 PER CENT OF POPULAR VOTE. THERE ARE FEW SERIOUS POLITICIANS, EVEN IN HIS OWN PARTY, WHO WOULD WELCOME PROSPECT OF PAPANDREOU RETURNED WITH HEAVY POPULAR VOTE (WHICH HE WOULD CONSIDER VINDICATION OF HIS STRUGGLE WITH KING) AND PROBABLY DETERMINED TO PUNISH THOSE HE CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS TROUBLES IN PALACE, ARMY, AND HIS OWN PARTY. FURTHER, A PAPANDREOU VICTORY WOULD NOT BRING WITH IT THE TEMPERING INFLUENCE OF MORE CONSERVATIVE LEADERS OF PARTY SUCH AS COSTOPOULOS, NOVAS, MITSOTAKIS, ETC. THE INFLUENCE OF HIS LEFT-LEANING SON ANDREAS IN GOVT

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 898A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE GREATER WITH SO MANY OF OTHER MAJOR FIGURES DEPARTED. FURTHER, HEAVY VOTE IN FAVOR OF PAPANDREOU COULD ONLY BE INTERPRETED AS BLOW TO KING, DESPITE PAPANDREOU'S DENIAL THAT MONARCHY QUESTION WOULD BE INVOLVED; VERY POSSIBLY PAPANDREOU WOULD MOVE TO LIMIT ROLE AND INFLUENCE OF CROWN IN GREEK POLITICAL LIFE. FINALLY, RETURN OF PAPANDREOU WOULD PROBABLY INCREASE UNWHOLESOME POLITICAL TENSIONS IN MILITARY AND SECURITY FORCES.

FOR THESE REASONS, KING, SUPPORTED BY ERE, PROGRESSIVES AND SIZEABLE ELEMENT OF CU, STRONGLY OPPOSES ELECTIONS, AND WOULD CONSIDER INSTABILITY FOR INDEFINITE PERIOD PREFERABLE TO RETURN OF PAPANDREOU. HOWEVER, AS UNSTABLE SITUATION CONTINUES, PRESSURE FOR ELECTIONS FROM PAPANDREOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY INCREASE AND IDEA MIGHT WELL GAIN SUPPORT EVEN AMONG OTHER ELEMENTS (NOW OPPOSED TO ELECTIONS) AS ONLY AVAILABLE MEANS OF CLARIFYING SITUATION.  
ANSCHUETZ

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SUMMARY

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

32

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Action

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1965 AUG 18 PM 5 04

Info

PP RUEHC  
DE RUQMAT 846A 2302040

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TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 268

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INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 76

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 68

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UNCLAS AUG 18

NSC

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS; USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

INR

CIA

FOLLOWING TWO AND ONE-HALF HOUR AUDIENCE THIS EVENING WITH  
FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS AND FORMER INTERIORMIN

NSA

TSIRIMOKOS, KING GAVE MANDATE TO TSIRIMOKOS. ON EMERGING

DOD

FROM MEETING TSIRIMOKOS SAID NEW GOVT WOULD BE SWORN IN TOMORROW

AID

AND THAT HE HOPED TO APPEAR WITH HIS CABINET BEFORE PARL  
EARLY NEXT WEEK.

RSR

IN HIS STATEMENT STEPHANOPOULOS SAID HE WOULD GIVE FULL  
SUPPORT TO TSIRIMOKOS GOVT BUT WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN IT.

ANSCHUETZ

BT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 59

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 12

NSC

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

INR

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

CIA

FORMER PRIME MIN PAPANDREOU'S REQUEST FOR AUDIENCE WITH KING WAS GRANTED TODAY, AND PAPANDREOU WENT

NSA

DOD

TO PALACE AT 7:00 PM.

AID

MEANWHILE, THERE WAS GROWING FEELING IN POLITICAL CIRCLES THAT PAPANDREOU WILL NOT GO SO FAR AS TO OFFER TO EXCLUDE HIS SON FROM POLITICAL LIFE IN EXCHANGE FOR MANDATE, AS WAS RUMORED YESTERDAY (EMBTTEL 233). IN MEETING TODAY WITH GROUP OF HIS DEPUTIES, PAPANDREOU SAID AS "COMPROMISE" HE WOULD OFFER TO

OPR

RSR

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 726A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUPPORT GOVT LED BY NON-PARLIAMENTARY FIGURE SUCH AS FORMER SUPREME COURT PROSECUTOR KIOUSOPOULOS WHICH WOULD LEAD COUNTRY TO ELECTIONS WITHIN FOUR MONTHS. ALTHOUGH FACT THAT PAPANDREOU DID NOT INFORM DEPUTIES OF ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS HE MIGHT OFFER DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT IN PRIVACY OF AUDIENCE HE WILL NOT MAKE THEM, NEVERTHELESS IT IS FELT UNLIKELY THAT PAPANDREOU WILL ACTUALLY AGREE TO SACRIFICE SON TO OBTAIN MANDATE.

MEANWHILE, BEHIND-SCENES EFFORT TO LINE UP SUPPORT FOR FORMER INTERIOR MIN TSIRIMOKOS CONTINUED APACE. MAIN STUMBLING BLOCK AT MOMENT APPEARS RELUCTANCE OF PROGRESSIVE HEAD MARKEZINIS AND GROUP OF ERE DEPUTIES TO SUPPORT FIGURE WHO HAS

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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By ctm, NARA, Date 6-26-03



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 237, AUGUST 12, FROM ATHENS

SUCH LONG RECORD OF COMMUNIST AFFILIATION. ERE PARL GROUP WILL MEET TOMORROW TO TRY TO REACH DECISION ON QUESTION.

DECISION OF GOVT ANNOUNCED AUGUST 10 TO FORBID FURTHER DEMONSTRATIONS WILL PROBABLY BE PUT TO TEST TONIGHT. PAN-HELLENIC STUDENT FEDERATION (EFEE) IS PLANNING TO HOLD RALLY IN FRONT OF UNIVERSITY, WHILE CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WILL BE HOLDING SEPARATE MEETING INSIDE THEATER. WHILE MEETINGS THEMSELVES ARE NOT

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 726A

BANNED, IT APPEARS LIKELY THAT ONE OR BOTH GROUPS WILL ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE AFTERWARDS, WHICH WOULD BRING THEM INTO DIRECT CONFLICT WITH POLICE. PAPANDREOU HAS IN EFFECT GIVEN GREEN LIGHT TO DEMONSTRATIONS BY CRITICIZING GOVT FOR ARRESTS AUGUST 10 OF PERSONS DEMONSTRATING IN VIOLATION OF BAN.

GP-4. ANSCHUETZ.

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Control: 16244  
Rec'd: JUNE 17, 1965  
3:02 P.M.

34

FROM: ATHENS  
ACTION: SECSTATE 1855  
INFO: ANKARA 638  
LONDON 473  
PARIS TOPOL 239  
NICOSIA 543  
USUN 188  
DATE: JUNE 17

PRO-GOVT ELEFThERIA REPORTS THIS MORNING GENERAL GRIVAS HAS SUBMITTED HIS RESIGNATION AS HEAD OF CYPRIOT NATIONAL GUARD. ACCORDING TO ELEFThERIA:

"GRIVAS SENT HIS RESIGNATION WITH LENGTHY MEMORANDUM IN WHICH HE SET FORTH POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION IN CYPRUS AND EXPLAINS REASONS FOR HIS DECISION.

"IN HIS MEMORANDUM GENERAL GRIVAS POINTED TO WEAKNESSES IN SITUATION PARTICULARLY FROM VIEW POINT OF ORGANIZATION AND MATTER OF DETERMINING CRITICAL AND STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES.

HE ALSO SET FORTH SIGNIFICANT REMARKS CONCERNING HIS PERSONAL POSITION IN CYPRUS. AS SOON AS IT RECEIVED GENERAL'S MEMORANDUM, GOVT ADDRESSED TO HIM APPEAL TO RECONSIDER HIS DECISION AND, IN ANY CASE, NOT TO CONSIDER HIS RESIGNATION FINAL BEFORE MAKING PERSONAL CONTACT WITH GOVT. HE HAS TO THIS END BEEN INVITED TO COME TO ATHENS.

"HOWEVER, WHILE DECISION OF GENERAL GRIVAS WAS BEING AWAITED, LATE LAST NIGHT THERE WERE REPORTS IN ATHENS ABOUT ALLEGED DISCOVERY IN CYPRUS NATIONAL GUARD FORCE OF PLOT AGAINST GOVERNMENT OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS. THESE REPORTS MAY BE PART /OF DIVERSIONARY

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-2- 1855 JUNE 17, FROM ATHENS

OF DIVERSIONARY MOVE CONNECTED WITH GENERAL'S DECISION TO RESIGN HIS COMMAND OF ARMED FORCES IN CYPRUS AND WITH CHARGES WHICH HE SET FORTH IN HIS MEMORANDUM."

COMMENT: JOHN SOSSIDES, DIRECTOR OF LIAISON BETWEEN FONMINISTRY AND PRIMIN, CONFIRMED TO ME THAT GRIVAS HAS SUBMITTED HIS RESIGNATION AND PAPANDREOU HAS ASKED HIM TO RECONSIDER.

ANSCHUETZ

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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DE RUQMAT 707A 2231910  
ZNY CCCCC  
SS P R 111836Z  
G ~~FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS~~  
SP TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 233  
SAH INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 56  
L RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 58  
H RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 62  
EUR RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY  
P STATE GRNC  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 11

NSC USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS; PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.

INR CIA SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

NSA DEADLOCK CONTINUED IN POLITICAL CRISIS WITH PALACE REMAINING  
JOD SILENT SINCE YESTERDAY'S RETURN OF MANDATE BY FORMER DEPUTY  
OPR PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS (EMBT 228). HOWEVER, BEHIND SCENES  
ACTIVITY CONTINUES, WITH ANTI-PAPANDREOU FORCES NOW UNITING  
RSR BEHIND FORMER INTERIOR MIN ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS AS POSSIBLE LEADER  
OF NEW GOVT. ACCORDING TO SOURCES CLOSE TO TSIRIMOKOS, PALACE  
HAS GIVEN GREEN LIGHT TO TSIRIMOKOS TO TAKE SOUNDINGS TO  
DETERMINE IF HE COULD WIN SUFFICIENT ADHERENTS TO FORM GOVT.

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 707A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
TSIRIMOKOS CANDIDACY IS BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME, BUT NOT ALL,  
OF THOSE FORCES WHO SUPPORTED STEPHANOPOULOS-TYPE SOLUTION.  
STEPHANOPOULOS HIMSELF, PLUS CU LEADER  
PAPAPOLITIS, AND MEMBERS OF NOVAS GOVT (PLUS PRO-GOVT DAILY  
ELEFTHERIA) ARE THROWING THEIR SUPPORT TO TSIRIMOKOS. HOWEVER,  
PUBLISHERS LAMBRAKIS (VKIMA) AND PAPAYEORYIOU (ATHINAIKI)  
ARE REPORTEDLY REFUSING DEFY PAPANDREOU AGAIN AND BACK TSIRIMOKOS.

IMMEDIATE GOAL OF TSIRIMOKOS SUPPORTERS IS TO OBTAIN ASSURANCES  
OF SUPPORT FROM SUFFICIENT MEMBER OF DEPUTIES (151) IN ORDER  
TO OBTAIN MAJORITY IN PARL. PRO-TSIRIMOKOS FORCES CLAIM THEY  
HAVE SUPPORT OF NOVAS GOVT GROUP (25) PLUS BULK OF ERE AND  
PROGRESSIVES DEPUTIES ALTHOUGH THEY ADMIT THAT NOT ALL 26  
OF THOSE WHO VOTED FOR STEPHANOPOULOS IN PARTY CAUCUS MONDAY ARE

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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-2- 233, AUGUST 11, FROM: ATHENS

WILLING TO BACK TSIRIMOKOS. THUS AT PRESENT MOMENT TSIRIMOKOS IS CONSIDERABLY SHORT OF MAGIC NUMBER OF 151 BUT HIS SUPPORTERS ARE WORKING FEVERISHLY TO SWING RELUCTANT DEPUTIES INTO THEIR CAMP.

ACCORDING TO LATE REPORT THIS EVENING, FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU HAS REQUESTED AUDIENCE WITH KING. REQUEST FOLLOWS SEVERAL-HOUR MEETING THIS AFTERNOON BETWEEN PAPANDREOU AND PUBLISHERS LAMBRAKIS, PAPAYEORYICU AND VELLIDIS. WITHIN LAST FEW MINUTES SEVERAL SOURCES HAVE REPORTED TO EMBASSY THAT PUBLISHERS SUCCEEDED IN PERSUADING PAPANDREOU THAT HE MUST (A) AGREE TO

PAGE THREE RUOMAT 707A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
KING'S NOMINATION FOR DEFENSE MINISTER AND (B) EXCLUDE HIS SON FROM POLITICAL LIFE IN EXCHANGE FOR RETURN OF MANDATE TO HIM. IF TRUE, SUCH MOVE - WHICH WOULD REPRESENT CONSIDERABLE BACKDOWN ON PAPANDREOU'S PART - COULD PROVIDE KEY TO SOLUTION OF GREECE'S 27-DAY-OLD POLITICAL CRISIS. HOWEVER, IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN IF PAPANDREOU WILL INDEED MAKE THESE FAR-REACHING CONCESSIONS AND WHETHER KING WILL AGREE TO RETURN MANDATE TO HIS FORMER PRIMIN ON THIS BASIS. AS OF THIS HOUR, PAPANDREOU'S REQUEST FOR AUDIENCE HAS NOT BEEN GRANTED.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

36

~~SECRET~~

41  
Action

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PP RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 690A 2231017  
ZNY SSSSS  
P 111013Z  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 230  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY 55  
STATE GRNC  
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~~SECRET~~ AUGUST 11

E X D I S

DEPTEL 107; ANKARA'S 137

SITUATION DESCRIBED FIRST THREE PARAS ANKARA'S 137 APPLICABLE HERE. MOREOVER, GREEKS RECOGNIZE AS WELL NECESSITY COORDINATION OF GREEK AND TURKISH STUDIES AND ACTION PURSUANT TO STUDIES.

VISIT TO GREECE IN CURRENT ATMOSPHERE UNLIKELY TO PRODUCE ANY CONCRETE RESULT IN TERMS OF AGREEMENTS ON FORCE STRUCTURES, STRATEGIC QUESTIONS OR DEFENSE COMMITMENTS. WE SEE NO LIKELIHOOD THAT EFFECTIVE MINISTER OF DEFENSE READY TO DO BUSINESS ON SERIOUS BASIS WILL BE IN PLACE HERE DURING THIS MONTH.

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 690A ~~SECRET~~

WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT DIALOGUE MIGHT BE ENGAGED WITH SERVICE CHIEFS AND CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, GREEK MILITARY SURE TO FEEL INHIBITED IN ANY SUCH DISCUSSION FOR LACK OF CIVILIAN SUPPORT FOR THEIR VIEWS.

APART FROM PROSPECTIVE UNPRODUCTIVENESS OF VISIT, THERE REMAINS THE DANGER THAT IN HEATED POLITICAL CLIMATE LIKELY TO PREVAIL DURING THIS MONTH, VISIT BY HIGHLY PLACED OFFICIAL OF DOD COULD EASILY BECOME SOURCE OF MALICIOUS SPECULATION WHICH CONTENDING POLITICAL ELEMENTS HERE WOULD TRY TO EXPLOIT TO THEIR OWN ADVANTAGE.

GP-1. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

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By ms NARA Date 2-23-04

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Charlaine McCauley

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6/26/03



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY [228]

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 54

USIA

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 57

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 60

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DOD

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 10

AID

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.

OPR

USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.

RSR

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS.

FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS RETURNED TO KING THIS AFTERNOON "EXPLORATORY" MANDATE GIVEN HIM SUNDAY NIGHT (EMBTel 212). FOLLOWING 1 1/2 HOUR AUDIENCE WITH KING, STEPHANOPOULOS TOLD REPORTERS THAT HE DECIDED TO ABANDON EFFORTS TO FORM GOVT FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S VOTE AGAINST HIM IN CU CAUCUS. (EMBTel 220) STEPHANOPOULOS SAID KING AGREE WITH HIS DECISION SINCE KING "DOES NOT WISH TO BREAK UP PARTY." STEPHANOPOULOS ADDED THAT HE DID NOT MAKE ANY SUGGESTIONS TO KING NOR DID KING ASK HIS VIEWS ON FURTHER COURSE OF ACTION "BECAUSE I AM NOT HEAD OF PARTY."

COMMENT: AS MENTIONED EARLIER (EMBTel 220), FAILURE OF STEPHANOPOULOS TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FROM PARTY TO ACCEPT MANDATE PLUNGES COUNTRY DEEPER INTO CRISIS AND FURTHER NARROWS ALTERNATIVES OPEN TO KING. THIS AFTERNOON THERE WAS SPECULATION ABOUT TWO POSSIBLE MOVES BY KING: (1) GIVING OF MANDATE TO SOME OTHER CU FIGURE SUCH AS TSIRIMOKOS OR KOSTOPOULOS; AND (2) SELECTION OF SOME NON-POLITICAL PERSONAGE SUCH AS MAVROS OR ZOLOTAS.

ACCORDING TO PRO-STEPHANOPOULOS SOURCE, STEPHANOPOULOS HIMSELF HAS NOT ABANDONED EFFORTS TO SEEK "THIRD SOLUTION."

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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-2- 228, AUGUST 10,

FROM ATHENS

HE IS CONTINUING MEETINGS WITH PARTY LEADERS TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOKITIS, AND WITH VIMA PUBLISHER LAMBRAKIS. REPORTEDLY GROUP IS SO FAR AVOIDING MEETING WITH PAPANDREOU, WHO INVITED THREE LEADERS TO HIS HOUSE TODAY IN KASTRI. ALTHOUGH GROUP IS UNCERTAIN ABOUT THEIR NEXT MOVE, FOR MOMENT THEY APPEAR DETERMINED TO CONTINUE OPPOSITION TO PAPANDREOU.

REPORTS EMANATING FROM PAPANDREOU'S HEADQUARTERS SAY THAT FORMER PRIMIN WILL EMBARK SHORTLY ON SPEECH-MAKING TOUR THROUGHOUT COUNTRY IF CRISIS IS NOT RESOLVED IN HIS FAVOR IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. SUCH TOUR, (#) TENSIONS IN COUNTRY AND PROBABLY LEAD TO DISORDER, PARTICULARLY SINCE, BY IMPLICATION AT LEAST, QUESTION OF MONARCHY WOULD BE RAISED.

LAST NIGHT THOUSANDS OF DEMONSTRATORS MARCHED THROUGH DOWNTOWN ATHENS FOLLOWING MEETING AT THEATER OF MAYORS ORGANIZED BY COMMUNITY PRESIDENTS. SLOGANS SHOUTED BY DEMONSTRATORS WERE STRONGLY ANTI-MONARCHICAL, AND MANY WERE DIRECTED AT QUEEN MOTHER. GROUP MARCHED ON PARLIAMENT BUT WERE TURNED AWAY BY POLICE WHO APPEALED TO THEM WITH LOUD-SPEAKERS, AND THEN MARCHED TOWARDS OMONIA SQUARE WHERE THEY DISPERSED. THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS.

ANSCHUETZ  
BT

(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 53

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 9

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PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

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USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

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FOLLOWING FOUR-HOUR SESSION MARKED BY BITTER RECRIMINATIONS, CU PARTY CAUCUS THIS AFTERNOON REJECTED BID OF FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS TO ACCEPT MANDATE FROM KING AND TRY TO FORM GOVT BASED ON CU PARTY. FINAL VOTE WAS 116 IN FAVOR OF MOTION THAT KING GIVE MANDATE ONLY TO PAPANDREOU, OPPOSED TO 26 WHO SUPPORTED IDEA THAT MANDATE BE GIVEN TO STEPHANOPOULOS OR OTHER FIGURE IN CU. THOSE SUPPORTING STEPHANOPOULOS-

DOD

AID

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OPR

RSR

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 669A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SOLUTION INCLUDED (IN ADDITION TO STEPHANOPOULOS) FORMER MINISTERS TSIRIMOKOS, PAPAPOLITIS, GLAVANIS, AND PARL PRES BAKLADZIS.

FOLLOWING VOTE STEPHANOPOULOS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD ABIDE BY PARTY'S DECISION AND RETURN MANDATE TO KING TOMORROW WITH EXPLANATION THAT HE UNABLE TO FORM GOVT WITH SUPPORT OF PARTY.

COMMENT: FAILURE OF STEPHANOPOULOS TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FROM PARTY TO ACCEPT MANDATE - - AT LEAST HALF OF DEPUTIES PRESENT WAS GOAL OF STEPHANOPOULOS GROUP - - PLUNGES COUNTRY DEEPER INTO CIRISIS. ALTERNATIVE COURSES OPEN TO KING HAVE NARROWED FURTHER. POLITICAL OBSERVERS WERE SPECULATING THIS EVENING THAT KING MIGHT EITHER (A) ASK ANOTHER

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-2- 220, AUGUST 9

FROM ATHENS

FIGURE FROM CU, SUCH AS TSIRIMOKOS TO TRY TO FORM GOVT EITHER BASED ON CU OR COALITION OF PARTIES OR (B) OFFER MANDATE TO NON-POLITICAL FIGURE SUCH AS BANK-HEAD ZOLOTAS, TO TRY TO FORM GOVT OF "NATIONAL UNITY".

ONE PRO-STEPHANOPOULOS DEPTY TOLD EMB OFFICER THIS EVENING THAT STEPHANOPOULOS SUPPORTERS MIGHT DECIDE TO BOLT PARTY, SET UP NEW GROUP TOGETHER WITH MEMBERS OF NOVAS GOVT. AND THEN FORM GOVT WITH ERE AND PROGRESSIVE SUPPORT. MATHEMATICALLY

PAGE 3, RUQMAT 669A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE, SINCE IN ADDITION TO 26 WHO VOTED FOR STEPHANOPOULOS TODAY THERE ARE 25 PROCLAIMED SUPPORTERS OF NOVAS GOVT; WITH SUPPORT OF 107 ERE AND PROGRESSIVES, THEY WOULD TOTAL 157 VOTES IN PARL, 6 MORE THAN NECESSARY FOR MAJORITY. HOWEVER, THERE IS QUESTION WHETHER STEPHANOPOULOS, WHO WITH ONLY GREATEST RELUCTANCE AGREED TO CONFRONT PAPANDREOU ON THIS OCCASION, WOULD HAVE COURAGE TO BOLT PARTY AND LEAD NEW GROUP.

ALTHOUGH STEPHANOPOULOS IS EXPECTED TO SEE KING TOMORROW MORNING TO RETURN MANDATE, PALACE MAY BE EXPECTED TO EXERT PRESSURE ON HIM TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO FORM GOVT.

ANSCHUETZ  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 2Ø6  
INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS, 56  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 5Ø  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 53  
STATE GRNC  
BT~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUG 7

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

KING COMPLETED FIRST STAGE OF AUDIENCES TODAY FOLLOWING MEETINGS THIS MORNING WITH ERE LEADERS PIPINELIS AND RODHOPOULOS. ON EMERGING FROM PALACE, PIPINELIS TOLD NEWSMEN HE HOPED CRISIS WOULD BE ENDED TODAY WITH KING'S SELECTION OF PERSON TO HEAD NEW GOVERNMENT.

DRAMATIC MEETING TOOK PLACE LAST NIGHT AT PAPANDREOU'S HOUSE AT KASTRI. STEPHANOPOULOS, TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOLITIS, TOGETHER WITH PUBLISHERS LAMBRAKIS, PAPAYEORYIOU AND

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 636A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
VELLIDIS, TALKED WITH PAPANDREOU UNTIL NEARLY MIDNIGHT, TRYING TO PERSUADE HIM TO ACCEPT STEPHANOPOULOS AS PRIMIN FOR PERIOD OF UP TO SIX MONTHS. ACCORDING TO RELIABLE SOURCES, GROUP TOLD PAPANDREOU THAT HE COULD REMAIN PARTY LEADER WITH MAJOR VOICE IN SELECTION OF CABINET, AND THAT HE WOULD LEAD PARTY IN ELECTIONS EARLY IN 1966. SOURCES SAY PAPANDREOU WAS ADAMANT, INSISTING THAT ONLY HE SHOULD RECEIVE MANDATE OR ELSE COUNTRY SHOULD GO TO IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS. HE WAS SUPPORTED BY FORMER MINAG BALTIDZIS. PAPANDREOU WARNED THAT IF STEPHANOPOULOS TOOK MANDATE WITHOUT HIS APPROVAL, HE WOULD TAKE HIS CASE TO PEOPLE. MEETING BROKE UP WITHOUT REACHING CONCLUSION.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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-2- 206 AUGUST 7 FROM ATHENS

COMMENT: AS PROSPECT OF KNOCK-DOWN, DRAG-OUT FIGHT BETWEEN PAPANDREOU AND STEPHANOPOULOS FOR CONTROL OF PARTY'S DEPUTIES LOOMS, BOTH SIDES ARE FEVERISHLY WORKING TO LINE UP SUPPORT FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. VARIOUS STEPHANOPOULOS SOURCES CLAIM THAT STEPHANOPOULOS WILL DEFY PAPANDREOU AND ACCEPT MANDATE FROM KING BUT ONLY ON CONDITION THAT GOVT MUST BE BASED ON SUFFICIENT CU SUPPORT IN PARL AND NOT ON ERE VOTES. HOWEVER, POLITICAL OBSERVERS CONSIDER THIS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, SINCE EVEN PAPANDREOU'S OPPONENTS ADMIT THAT HE HAS HARD-CORE STRENGTH OF BETWEEN 60-70 DEPUTIES. SINCE THERE ARE TOTAL OF 171 CU DEPUTIES IN PARL (COUNTING 21 WHO PARTICIPATED IN NOVAS GOVT) MOST OPTIMISTIC PRO-STEPHANOPOULOS CLAIMS ARE AROUND 100 DEPUTIES. THEREFORE, IF STEPHANOPOULOS DOES ACCEPT MANDATE, HE WILL BE FACED

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 636A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
WITH PROSPECT OF RETURNING IT TO KING OR ELSE ACCEPTING ERE AND PROGRESSIVE PARTY SUPPORT TO SECURE NECESSARY MAJORITY IN PARL. IN ANY CASE, OBSERVERS CONTINUE TO POINT TO STEPHANOPOULOS' KNOWN TENDENCY TO WAVER WHEN PRESSURE IS ON AS FACTOR TO BE CONSIDERED IN CURRENT STRUGGLE.

KING'S DECISION EXPECTED SOON.

ANSCHUETZ

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

*Cut* 40

88-81

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

EUR

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC (204)

P

INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 49

USIA

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 54

NSC

RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 54

INR

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

CIA

STATE GRNC

NSA

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 6

DOD

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

RSR

DRAMATIC MEETING OF CU CAUCUS HELD THIS NOON AT LIBERAL PARTY HEADQUARTERS. ONLY 80 TO 100 OF 145 DEPUTIES SUPPOSEDLY LOYAL TO PAPANDREOU APPEARED, AND PARTY LEADERS TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOLITIS WERE AMONG THOSE ABSENT. STEPHANOPOULOS WAS ALSO NOT PRESENT, ALTHOUGH HIS ABSENCE WAS ASCRIBED TO FACT THAT HE MET WITH KING ONLY HALF HOUR BEFORE MEETING WAS TO BEGIN.

CAUCUS LASTED ONLY 20 MINUTES. PAPANDREOU -- APPEARING DISTRESSED -- REPORTED BRIEFLY ON HIS AUDIENCE WITH KING AND SAID THAT HIS LINE WAS CLEAR; EITHER RETURN TO MANDATE TO HIM OR PROCEED TO ELECTIONS. PAPANDREOU THEN ASKED IF ANYONE PRESENT OPPOSED THIS LINE. WHEN THERE WERE NO OBJECTIONS, MEETING ENDED AND PAPANDREOU AFTERWARDS TOLD REPORTERS THAT DEPUTIES HAD REAFFIRMED THEIR SUPPORT OF HIS LINE. APPROXIMATELY 15 MINUTES AFTER PAPANDREOU LEFT, TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOLITIS APPEARED, EXPLAINING LAMELY THAT THEY HAD THOUGHT MEETING WOULD ONLY BEGIN UPON RETURN OF STEPHANOPOULOS FROM PALACE. TEN MINUTES LATER STEPHANOPOULOS APPEARED ON SCENE BUT DID NOT ADDRESS GROUP. IN PRIVATE MEETING WITH DEPUTIES, HE ASSERTED THAT HE (STEPHANOPOULOS) HAD TRIED TO "PAVE WAY" FOR PAPANDREOU'S RETURN AS PRIME MINISTER AND SAID KING SEEMED "FAVORABLY DISPOSED" TOWARDS PAPANDREOU.

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLI 12-118

By ULI8 NARA Date 03-23-2014

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2-, 204, AUGUST 6, FROM ATHENS

ALTHOUGH STEPHANOPOULOS REPEATED PAPANDREOU CLAIM THAT KING PLANS TO CALL PAPANDREOU AGAIN TO GIVE FINAL ANSWER, ERE LEADER KANELLOPOURF TOLD NEWSPAPERMAN THAT KING TOLD HIM THAT HE SIMPLY WOULD "INFORM" PAPANDREOU OF HIS FINAL DECISION.

MEANWHILE KING CONTINUED TO RECEIVE POLITICAL LEADERS IN AUDIENCE. FOLLOWING LAST NIGHT'S AUDIENCE WITH PAPANDREOU, HE SAW ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS. THIS MORNING, EDA LEADER PASSALIKIS, PROGRESSIVE HEAD MARKEZINIS, STEPHANOPOULOS AND PRIMIN NOVAS WERE RECEIVED AT PALACE. THIS AFTERNOON, PAPAPOLITIS, TSIRIMOKOS AND FORMER AGRICMIN BALTADZIS HAD AUDIENCES WITH KING, AND THIS EVENING COSTOPOULOS AND MITSOTAKIS ARE EXPECTED TO BE RECEIVED.

COMMENT: ALTHOUGH STEPHANOPOULOS, PAPAPOLITIS AND TSIRIMOKOS CONTINUE TO GIVE LIP SERVICE TO SUPPORT OF PAPANDREOU AND INSIST THAT IN THEIR AUDIENCES WITH KING THEY BACK RETURN OF FORMER PRIMIN, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THREE ARE IN FINAL STAGES OF PLAN TO TRY TO PUSH PAPANDREOU ASIDE FOR STEPHANOPOULOS-TYPE SOLUTION. SOURCE CLOSE TO TSIRIMOKOS TOLD EMBOFF THIS AFTERNOON THAT THE THREE WILL MEET THIS EVENING WITH NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS LAMBRAKIS (VIMA), PAPAYEORYIOU (ATHINAIKI) AND VELLIDIS (MAKEDHONIA) TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON STEPHANOPOULOS' SOLUTION. ACCORDING TO THIS SAME SOURCE, KING OFFERED STEPHANOPOULOS MANDATE AND STEPHANOPOULOS ACCEPTED IT, ON CONDITION THAT HE COULD FORM GOVT FROM CU ITSELF AND NOT RELY ON ERE FOR SUPPORT. HOWEVER, POLITICAL CIRCLES STILL REMAIN SKEPTICAL THAT WHEN CHIPS ARE DOWN STEPHANOPOULOS WILL HAVE THE COURAGE TO GO FOR BROKE.

BULK OF PARTI'S DEPUTIES SEEM COMPLETELY CONFUSED BY DISCREPANCY BETWEEN PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT FOR PAPANDREOU BY STEPHANOPOULOS, TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOLITIS AND OPEN SECRET THAT THEY ARE PLOTTING TO PUSH HIM ASIDE. FURTHER, FACT THAT AROUND 50 DEPUTIES ABSENT THEMSELVES FROM TODAY'S PARTY CAUCUS DEALT BLOW TO PAPANDREOU'S CLAIM TO CONTROL 145 CU DEPUTIES WHO VOTED AGAINST NOVAS GOVT.

WHILE KING COULD CONCEIVABLY MAKE CHOICE TOMORROW FOLLOWING COMPLETION OF HIS MEETINGS WITH POLITICAL LEADERS, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] KING WILL PROBABLY DELAY MAKING ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL MONDAY.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

41

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

81  
Action TELV QMA958ATA072  
NEA PP RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 644A 2211905  
ZNY CCCCC CONTROL: 5495  
Info P. R 081855Z REC'D: AUGUST 8, 1965  
SS FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS 5:43 p.m.  
G TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 212  
SP INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 58  
EUR RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
P RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 52  
USIA RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 55  
NSC STATE GRNC  
INR BT  
CIA ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUG 8  
NSA PARIS FOR BURNS AND JAMES  
DOD USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS  
RSR FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS RECEIVED "EXPLORATORY"  
MANDATE TO TRY TO FORM NEW GOVT FROM KING LATE THIS EVENING  
FOLLOWING 45-MINUTE AUDIENCE.

EARLIER, AT 7:00PM FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU HAD BEEN CALLED TO PALACE FOR AUDIENCE WHICH LASTED ONLY 15 MINUTES. LATE THIS EVENING PAPANDREOU'S OFFICE ISSUED STATEMENT THAT KING TOLD PAPANDREOU HE COULD NOT RPT NOT ACCEPT EITHER OF PAPANDREOU'S PROPOSALS I.E. RETURN OF MANDATE TO HIM OR NEW ELECTIONS. KING THEN ASKED PAPANDREOU IF THERE WAS POSSIBILITY OF "THIRD" SOLUTION TO WHICH PAPANDREOU REPLIED IN NEGATIVE ACCORDING TO STATEMENT, PAPANDREOU WARNED KING THAT ANY ATTEMPT TO FORM GOVT LED BY ANOTHER PERSON FROM WITHIN CU WOULD BE INTERPRETED BY PARTY AND "DEMOCRATIC WORLD" AS EFFORT TO SPLIT PARTY.

FOLLOWING AUDIENCE, PAPANDREOU LEFT FOR KASTRI WHERE HE WAS JOINED BY STEPHANOPOULOS AND VIMA PUBLISHER LAMBRAKIS. MEETING LASTED ONLY 10 MINUTES, AFTER WHICH STEPHANOPOULOS LEFT FOR PALACE TO RECIEVE MANDATE.

ACCORDING TO SOURCE CLOSE TO PAPANDREOU, STEPHANOPOULOS TOLD PAPANDREOU THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT MANDATE ON CONDITION THAT PARTY CAUCUS APPROVED. SAME SOURCE REPORTED BITTER FIGHT BETWEEN STEPHANOPOULOS AND PAPANDREOU SUPPORTERS AT CAUCUS POSSIBLE.

GP-3  
ANSCHUETZ

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

42

87

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Action

NEA TZMBORVV QMA721VV ATA883

03686

Info DE RUQMAT 604A 2171825

1965 AUG 5 PM 4 27

SS R 051805Z

G FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

SP TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 195

SAH INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 47

EUR RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 50

IO RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 53

P RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

USIA STATE GRNC

NSC BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 5

INR PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.

CIA AS GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS MOVES TOWARDS ITS INEXORABLE CLIMAX  
NSA FOLLOWING FALL OF NOVAS GOVT THIS MORNING, SOLUTION TO IMPASSE  
DOD SEEMS AS FAR AWAY AS EVER. AS TIME HAS PASSED, ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS  
AID TO CRISIS HAVE APPEARED AND THEN EVAPORATED UNDER EXAMINATION.  
RSR THUS POSSIBLE CHOICES OPEN TO KING IN HIS QUEST FOR SUCCESSOR  
TO NOVAS GOVT HAVE NARROWED TO FOLLOWING: (1) RETURN OF MANDATE  
TO PAPANDREOU; (2) FORMATION OF SERVICE GOVT TO PREPARE FOR  
EARLY ELECTIONS; (3) FORMATION OF CU GOVT UNDER SOME FIGURE  
SUCH AS FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS OR FORMER INTERIOR MIN  
TSIRIMOKOS; AND (4) FORMATION OF COALITION GOVT OR GOVT OF  
PERSONALITIES WHICH WOULD SERVE AS "TRANSITIONAL" GOVT FOR  
PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS TO ONE YEAR. BUT TWO FACTORS IN CRISIS  
COMBINE TO MAKE SELECTION OF ANY OF THESE ALTERNATIVES EXTREMELY  
DIFFICULT: (1) APPARENT DETERMINATION OF KING NOT TO GIVE MANDATE  
AGAIN TO PAPANDREOU NOR TO PROCEED TO ELECTIONS IN NEAR FUTURE  
AND (2) ABILITY OF PAPANDREOU, AT LEAST UP TO PRESENT, TO KEEP  
CONTROL OF HIS 145 DEPUTIES (AS INDICATED BY LAST NIGHT'S  
VOTE IN PARL.) AND THUS PREVENT THEM FROM SUPPORTING OTHER  
SOLUTION.

FORCES OPPOSED TO PAPANDREOU HAVE BEEN BANKING THEIR HOPES ON  
FORMING CU GOVT WITH FORMER CU DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS AS  
PRIMIN AND ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS AND SAVVAS PAPAPOLITIS AS DEPUTY  
PRIMINISTERS. HOWEVER, AS PREVIOUSLY POINTED OUT, EFFORTS TO  
GET CONDIDACY OF STEPHANOPOULOS OFF GROUND HAVE FLOUNDERED ON  
TWO DIFFICULTIES: (1) BASIC LACK OF COURAGE ON PART OF  
STEPHANOPOULOS, WHO HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO MOVE WITHOUT BLESSING  
OF PAPANDREOU (WHICH IS CONSIDERED EXTREMELY UNLIKELY) AND (2)  
INABILITY OF BACKERS OF STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION TO AGREE ON WHO

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-2-, 195, AUGUST 5, FROM ATHENS

SHOULD RECEIVE LEADING POSITIONS IN NEW GOVT TO BE FORMED. PARTICULARLY, TWO WOULD-BE KING MAKERS, POWERFUL PUBLISHERS LAMBRAKIS (TO VIMA) AND KOKKAS (ELEFThERIA), HAVE BEEN IN COMPLETE DISAGREEMENT ON WHO SHOULD OCCUPY KEY POSTS IN SUCH GOVT.

ALTHOUGH MOMENT FOR STEPHANOPOULOS BID--IF ANY-- WOULD SEEM TO BE TOMORROW AFTERNOON WHEN KING IS EXPECTED TO CALL FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN TO HEAR HIS VIEWS, SOME SUPPORTERS OF STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION WERE SUGGESTING THIS AFTERNOON THAT OPPORTUNITY WILL NEVER MATERIALIZE, SINCE PAPANDREOU IS CALLING FOR MEETING OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE TOMORROW AT NOON AT WHICH TIME HE IS EXPECTED TO ASK FOR PROPOSAL OF SUPPORT FOR EITHER (A) RETURN TO THE MANDATE TO KING OR (B) ELECTIONS. THESE SAME OBSERVERS PREDICTED THAT AS IN PREVIOUS MEETING OF CU PARTY CAUCUS DEPUTIES WILL BE AFRAID TO REVOLT AND WILL GIVE THEIR ASSENT TO PAPANDREOU.

SAME OBJECTIONS WOULD APPLY TO CANDIDACY OF TSIRIMOKOS WHO, IN ADDITION, HAS ADDED DISADVANTAGE OF LEFTIST BACKGROUND WHICH WOULD MAKE HIM UNACCEPTABLE TO MANY CONSERVATIVES. NEVERTHELESS, RUMORS THAT KING MIGHT POSSIBLY OFFER MANDATE TO TSIRIMOKOS HAVE INCREASED AS PROSPECTS OF STEPHANOPOULOS CANDIDACY HAVE WANED. SOURCES CLOSE TO TSIRIMOKOS SAY HE WOULD AGREE TO ACCEPT KING'S CHOICES FOR KEY POSTS OF DEFENSE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INTERIOR. HOWEVER, EVEN WITH THESE CONCESSIONS, MANY CONSERVATIVES WOULD FIND TSIRIMOKOS PRIME MINISTERSHIP HARD TO SWALLOW.

IT SEEMS CLEAR THEREFORE THAT WITH FALL OF NOVAS GOVT KING IS FACING IMPASSE OF GRAVEST PROPORTIONS. SHOULD SCHEMES FOR STEPHANOPOULOS OR OTHER NON-PAPANDREOU GOVT FAIL, KING WILL BE FACED WITH PROSPECT OF EITHER CALLING BACK PAPANDREOU OR CALLING ELECTIONS.

THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE TALK IN CONSERVATIVE CIRCLES IN RECENT DAYS ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SOLUTION IN EVENT COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS FAILED. MUCH OF THIS TALK MAY WELL BE PART OF "WAR OF NERVES" WAGED BY ANTI-PAPANDREOU FORCES TO CONVINCE CU DEPUTIES THAT KING WOULD MOVE TO DICTATORSHIP RATHER THAN SEE PAPANDREOU RETURN, THEREBY INCREASING PRESSURE ON DEPUTIES TO SUPPORT SOLUTION ELIMINATING PAPANDREOU. IT CANNOT BE EXCLUDED, HOWEVER, THAT KING MIGHT ATTEMPT IMPOSE NONPARLIAMENTARY GOVT BASED ON MILITARY SUPPORT RATHER THAN RETURN GOVT TO PAPANDREOU.

NOTWITHSTANDING APPREHENSIONS BY SOME OBSERVERS, KING RECENTLY COMMENTED TO EMBASSY SOURCE THAT MILITARY SOLUTION IS OUT OF QUESTION.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3-, 195, AUGUST 5, FROM ATHENS

EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED WORD THAT PAPANDREOU HAS JUST COMPLETED 1-1/4 HOUR AUDIENCE WITH KING. ON EMERGING FROM PALACE, PAPANDREOU INFORMED REPORTERS THAT HE HAD TOLD KING THAT SOLUTION TO CRISIS WAS EITHER (A) RETURN OF MANDATE TO HIM OR (B) ELECTIONS WITHIN 45 DAYS. PAPANDREOU SAID KING PROMISED TO ANSWER HIM AFTER CONSULTING OTHER PARTY AND POLITICAL LEADERS, AND THAT THEY WOULD MEET AGAIN.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ

BT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

43

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Action  
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Info

1965 AUG 4 PM 11 09

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PP RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 579A 2170230  
ZNR UUUUU  
P R 050235Z  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 188  
INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 51  
RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH  
RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 45  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 48  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
UNCLAS AUG 5  
PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS  
FOLLOWING LONG AND BITTER DEBATE PARLIAMENT EARLY THIS MORNING  
VOTED DOWN GOVT OF GEORGE ATHANASIADIS-NOVAS. FINAL (AND  
UNOFFICIAL) VOTE OF CONFIDENCE MOTION WAS 131 IN FAVOR  
OF GOVT, 167 AGAINST, WITH 2 ABSTENTIONS. 145 CU DEPUTIES  
AND 22 FROM EDA VOTED AGAINST GOVT, WHILE ERE,  
PROGRESSIVES, MEMBERS OF NOVAS GOVT AND TWO OTHER CU  
DEPUTIES VOTED FOR GOVT.  
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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY 44

44

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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DO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 167

USIA

INFO RUHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 46

NSC

RUFROR/USDOCOSOUTH

INR

RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 39

CIA

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 43

NSA

STATE GRNC

DOD

BT

NIC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AUGUST 1

AID

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. - USDOCOSOUTH FOR POLAD

RSR

SITUATION REPORT ON GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS:

TENSION EASED SLIGHTLY IN ATHENS TODAY (SUNDAY) FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY PRES OF PARLIAMENT BAKLATZIS LAST NIGHT THAT PARLIAMENT WOULD RECONVENE MONDAY UNDER HIS PRESIDENCY. BAKLATZIS ISSUED STATEMENT TO PRESS FOLLOWING HOUR'S AUDIENCE WITH KING CONSTANTINE IN WHICH HE BRIEFED KING ON LAST FRIDAY'S PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WHICH BROKE UP IN CONFUSION. (EMBT 164). KING ALSO HELD AUDIENCES WITH PRIMIN NOVAS AND PROFESSOR

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 001A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW SGOURITSAS TO DISCUSS LEGAL ASPECTS OF QUESTION. REPORTEDLY SGOURITSAS TOOK POSITION THAT GOVT STILL STANDS DESPITE LACK OF QUORUM.

ALTHOUGH PAPANDREOU CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT NOVAS GOVT IS "ILLEGAL" AND SHOULD NOT REMAIN IN POWER BECAUSE OF ITS FAILURE TO OBTAIN QUORUM FRIDAY NIGHT, FACT THAT PAPANDREOU GIVING GO-AHEAD TO BAKLATZIS TO PRESIDE OVER MONDAY'S SESSION RAISES HOPES THAT CU LEADER MIGHT NOT INSIST TO BITTER END ON HIS THESIS. THERE IS STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT SOME KIND OF COMPROMISE MIGHT BE REACHED. ONE WAY OUT OF PARLIAMENTARY DILEMMA WOULD BE FOR PAPANDREOU TO GIVE TACIT AGREEMENT TO

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August 1, From: Athens

RETURN OF HIS DEPUTIES TO PARL BY DECLARING IT MATTER OF "INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE" WHETHER DEPUTIES ATTEND MONDAY'S SESSION. ACCORDING TO POLITICAL OBSERVERS, EDA'S 21 DEPUTIES WILL ATTEND SESSION.

KING WAS ACTIVE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON IN ATTENDING VARIOUS CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH ARMED FORCES. AMONG THESE WERE: (1) PRESENTING OF DIPLOMAS TO GRADUATES OF MERCHANT MARINE ACADEMY. (2) ATTENDANCE AT SWEARING IN OF MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATES AFTER WHICH KING PERSONALLY PRESENTED GRADUATES

PAGE THREE RUQMAT 001 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
WITH THEIR SWORDS AND (3) ATTENDANCE AT CEREMONY OF SWEARING IN OF NEW GENDARMERIE LIEUTENANTS AT WHICH KING AGAIN PERSONALLY PRESENTED SWORDS. CEREMONIES WERE BROADCAST IN FULL OVER ARMED FORCES RADIO. IT APPARENT KING MAKING EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE HIS ROLE AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF ARMED FORCES AND TO EMPHASIZE IN PUBLIC MIND HIS CLOSENESS TO ARMED FORCES.

KING HAS RETURNED CORFU AND WILL BE BACK IN ATHENS TOMORROW MORNING.

GP-3.

ANSCHUETZ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

45

87

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Action  
NEA

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1965 JUL 30 PM 8 57

PP RUEHCR

DE RUQMAT 503A 2112315

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Info

P R 302310Z ZEA

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

SS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 164

G

INFO RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 44

SP

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

SAH

RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 35

EUR

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 40

P

STATE GRNC

USIA

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NSC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 30

INR

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

CIA

OPENING SESSION OF PARL TO CONSIDER VOTE OF CONFIDENCE ON

NSA

NOVAS GOVT BROKE UP THIS EVENING DUE TO LACK OF QUORUM

DOD

FOLLOWING TWO HOURS OF BITTER WRANGLING BETWEEN PAPANDREOU

AID

FORCES ON ONE HAND AND NOVAS GOVT AND ERE ON OTHER.

BSR

SESSION WAS MARKED BY TUMULT OF SHOUTING AMONG DEPUTIES AND

OCYWI\*OCCASION 15-MINUTE RECESS WAS ORDERED IN EFFORT TO

RESTORE ORDER. SESSION ENDED FOLLOWING ROLL CALL IN WHICH

ONLY 47 DEPUTIES WERE PRESENT. AT THIS POINT PARL SPEAKER

BAKLATZIS, WHO BELONGS TO PAPANDREOU CAMP, ANNOUNCED THAT SINCE

GOVT WAS UNABLE TO APPEAR BEFORE PARL AND OBTAIN CONFIDENCE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 503A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VOTE WITHIN 15 DAYS AS PROVIDED BY CONSTITUTION, (DUE TO LACK OF QUORUM), THEN NOVAS GOVT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS HAVING BEEN VOTED DOWN. THIS INTERPRETATION PROVOKED SHOUTS OF PROTEST FROM GOVT AND ERE DEPUTIES.

AS SOON AS SESSION OPENED, ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS IN SURPRISE MOVE ANNOUNCED THAT SINCE PAPANDREOU AND HIS DEPUTIES WERE NOT PARTICIPATING IN DEBATE ON NOVAS GOVT, THEN ERE DEPUTIES WOULD ALSO BOYCOTT CHAMBER UNTIL CU DEPUTIES RETURNED.

KANELLOPOULOS, ACCOMPANIED BY ALL ERE DEPUTIES PRESENT,

THEN WALKED OUT OF PARL, AND HIS EXAMPLE WAS FOLLOWED

BY PROGRESSIVE LEADER MARKEZINIS AND HIS DEPUTIES. MOVE APPARENTLY

CAUGHT PAPANDREOU FORCES OFF GUARD, AND THEY THEN WENT INTO

EMERGENCY HUDDLE TO CONSIDER COURSE OF ACTION. IN HALF HOUR

ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO RESUME SESSION, WITH SOME ERE DEPUTIES

AND MARKEZINIS PRESENT. AT THIS POINT EDA'S 21 DEPUTIES

--WHO HAD BEEN BOYCOTTING DEBATE--ENTERED HALL AND WHEN BAKLATZIS

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-2- 164, JULY 30 FROM ATHENS

GRANTED PERMISSION TO EDA LEADER ILIOU TO SPEAK, PANDEMONIUM BROKE OUT AS GOVT, BACKED BY ERE DEPUTIES, DEMANDED ROLL CALL BE TAKEN TO SEE IF QUOROM PRESENT BEFORE ILIOU WAS HEARD. WHEN HE WAS UNABLE TO RESTORE ORDER, BAKLATZIS LEFT CHAMBER. HE RETURNED HALF-HOUR LATER AND ROLL CALL WAS TAKEN AT WHICH ONLY 47 DEPUTIES WERE PRESENT AND BAKLATZIS THEN TERMED PARL SUSPENDED.

PAGE 3 RUCMAT 503A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
WHILE DEBATE WAS RAGING INSIDE, SEVERAL THOUSAND PAPANDREOU SUPPORTERS, MOSTLY YOUTHS, MARCHED PAST PARL BUILDING, CHANTING PRO-PAPANDREOU AND ANTI-NOVAS GOVT SLOGANS. POLICE, SUPPORTED BY UNITS ARMED WITH TEAR GAS, GUARDED PARLIAMENT, BUT AS OF LATE THIS EVENING NO VIOLENCE HAD BEEN REPORTED.

COMMENT: BEDLAM IN PARL TONIGHT WAS REFLECTION OF TENSION PREVAILING IN CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS. BAKLATZIS' CLAIM THAT NOVAS GOVT WAS IN EFFECT VOTED DOWN BECAUSE NO QUOROM WAS OBTAINED WOULD APPEAR TO BE OF DOUBTFUL LEGAL VALIDITY, PARTICULARLY SINCE CONSTITUTION PROVIDES THAT NEW GOVT MUST ONLY APPEAR BEFORE PARL TO BEGIN DEBATE WITHIN 15 DAYS, BUT NOT NECESSARILY TO OBTAIN CONFIDENCE VOTE WITHIN THAT PERIOD. ALTHOUGH PAPANDREOU ISSUED STATEMENT LATE TONIGHT BACKING BAKLATZIS' INTERPRETATION, POLITICAL CIRCLES EXPRESSED HOPE THAT HE WOULD NOT INSIST ON MAINTAINING THIS POSITION AND THAT CU WOULD RETURN TO PARL BY MONDAY. HOWEVER, IF PAPANDREOU DOES INSIST THAT NOVAS GOVT NO LONGER IN OFFICE, PRESENT CRISIS WOULD BECOME EVEN GRAVER. PRIMIN NOVAS ISSUED STATEMENT FOLLOWING PARL'S SUSPENSION APPEALING TO ALL PARTIES TO PRESERVE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY BY RETURNING TO PARL, WHILE ERE LEADER KANELLOPOULOS SHARPLY CHALLENGING VALIDITY OF PAPAN-DREOU'S THESIS. IN ANY EVENT, THIS EVENING'S FIASCO IN PARL WAS REAL BLOW TO GREEK PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM.  
ANSCHUETZ

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\*AS RECEIVED, WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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DE RUQMAT 502A 2111900 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Action ZNY CCCCC

NEA P R 301830Z ZEA

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC **PRIORITY 163**

Info INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 43

SS RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

G RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 34

SP RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 39

SAH STATE GRNC

EUR BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 30

F USDOCOSOUTH POLAD

NSC PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

INR  
CIA SITUATION REPORT ON CURRENT GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS

NSA  
DOD  
ALD  
PC  
OPR  
RSR  
PARL CONVENED TONIGHT AMID AIR OF TENSION CAUSED BY FOLLOWING DEVELOPMENTS: (1) LAST NIGHT'S ANNOUNCEMENT BY CU LEADER PAPANDREOU THAT HIS 143 DEPUTIES WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE IN DEBATE ON NOVAS GOVT PROGRAM BUT WOULD APPEAR ONLY FOR VOTE OF CONFIDENCE; (2) STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE PARL TONIGHT BY CENTER AND LEFTIST GROUPS COULD ERUPT INTO VIOLENCE; (3) PREVALENCE OF RUMORS THAT NOVAS GOVT ON VERGE OF COLLAPSE AND THAT VOTE OF CONFIDENCE MAY BE SPEEDED UP AND HELD TOMORROW. LAST NIGHT FONMIN KOSTOPOULOS TOLD CHARGE THAT HE CONSIDERING RESIGNING FROM NOVAS GOVT AND TODAY CU SOURCE INFORMED EMBASSY OFFICER KOSTOPOULOS HAS PREPARED LETTER OF RESIGNATION BUT MAY MAY DELAY ITS SUBMISSION UNTIL HE SEES KING. KOSTOPOULOS RESIGNATION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY WEAKEN NOVAS GOVT'S DETERMINATION TO PROLONG STRUGGLE AND PROBABLY PRECIPITATE ITS FALL. LIKELIHOOD OF VIOLENCE INCREASED BY FACT THAT IN ADDITION TO GATHERING OF VARIOUS GROUPS OUTSIDE PARL, LEFT-OF-CENTER EFEE STUDENT ORGANIZATION HOLDING DEMONSTRATION AT PROPYLAE OF UNIVERSITY. IN ADDITION, RIGHTIST STUDENTS PLANNING INDOOR RALLY SHORT DISTANCE AWAY. IN ANTICIPATION OF MAJOR DISTURBANCES, SEVERAL ARMORED BATTALIONS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN MOVED INTO POSITION ON OUTSKIRTS OF CITY. SIZE OF MILITARY REINFORCEMENTS, IF CONFIRMED, MIGHT RAISE QUESTION WHETHER LOCAL SECURITY ONLY PURPOSE.

IMMEDIATELY AFTER CONVOCAION OF PARLIAMENTARY SESSION ERE LEADER KANNELOPOULOS ANNOUNCED THAT INASMUCH AS PAPANDREOU AND CU DEPUTIES NOT PARTICIPATING IN DEBATE ERE DEPUTIES WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE EITHER. IN ORDER PROVIDE QUORUM CU DEPUTIES APPARENTLY HAVE BEEN FORCED TO RETURN TO CHAMBER.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ  
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By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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1965 JUL 30 PM 4 01



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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1935 JUL 29 - PM 4 56

RR RUEHCR  
DE RUQMAT 480A 2101855  
ZNY CCCCC

R 291630Z ZEA  
FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 156  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 33  
RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 36  
RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 42  
RUFRCR/USDOCSOUTH POLAD UNN  
STATE GRNC  
BT

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 29

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.

SITUATION REPORT ON CURRENT GREEK POLITICAL CRISIS.

TWO IMPORTANT EVENTS TOOK PLACE IN LAST 24 HOURS: (1) EFFORT BY THREE LEADING NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS (LAMBRAKIS, VELLIDIS AND PAPAYEORYIOU) SUPPORTED BY IMPORTANT CU FIGURES TO PUSH STEPHANOPOULOS-TYPE SOLUTION BROKE DOWN LAST NIGHT WHEN THEY WERE UNABLE TO PERSUADE KING TO PUSH ASIDE NOVAS AND ASK STEPHANOPOULOS TO FORM GOVT.; AND (2) SUCCESS OF PAPANDREOU

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 480A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AT MEETING OF PARLIAMENTARY GROUP THIS MORNING WHEN 143 CU DEPUTIES AGREED TO VOTE AGAINST NOVAS GOVERNMENT ON CONFIDENCE MOTION.

FAILURE OF YESTERDAY'S EFFORT TO OUST NOVAS AND REPLACE HIM BY STEPHANOPOULOS WAS REVEALED BY PRO-GOVT ELEFThERIA WHICH GAVE SENSATIONAL PLAY TO STORY IN THIS MORNING'S EDITION. UNDER HEADLINES: "FRENZIED METHODS OF FRAUD AND BLACKMAIL," PAPER CHARGED THAT "NEWSPAPER GROUP, SUPPORTED BY CERTAIN KEY CU FIGURES, EXERCISED PRESSURE ON KING TO STRANGLE SIMULTANEOUSLY NOVAS AND PAPANDREOU." ARTICLE DESCRIBES ACTIVITIES OF GROUP IN DETAIL, INCLUDING USE OF KING'S PRIVATE PHYSICIAN DOXIADES AND EMISSARY BETWEEN KING AND STEPHANOPOULOS BACKERS. ACCORDING TO ELEFThERIA, KING REFUSED BECAUSE HE DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR AS TRYING TO SPLIT CU AND DID NOT WISH TO "DEVIATE FROM CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER." TO VIMA, WHOSE OWNER LAMBRAKIS WAS ONE OF MAIN INSTIGATORS OF PLAN, LAUNCHED SHARP ATTACK ON KING AND HIS ADVISORS THIS MORNING BECAUSE OF

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- 156, JULY 29 FROM ATHENS

KING'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT PROPOSAL. ACCORDING TO VIMA, STEPHANOPOULOS (THROUGH EMISSARY) TOLD KING THAT NOVAS GOVT MUST BE IMMEDIATELY OUSTED AND REPLACED BY CU GOVT (ALTHOUGH

PAGE 3, RUQMAT 480A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAPANDREOU NOT MENTIONED). VIMA CLAIMS THAT KING SUGGESTED THAT STEPHANOPOULOS CONSULT WITH NOVAS AND WORK MATTERS OUT, AND THAT STEPHANOPOULOS SHOULD REQUEST AUDIENCE WITH KING, WHICH VIMA INTERPRETS AS EFFORT TO SPLIT CU "AND MAKE STEPHANOPOULOS NEW NOVAS."

PAPANDREOU ENGINEERED MEETING OF CU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP WITH CUSTOMARY CUNNING. MEETING WAS HELD AT LIBERAL PARTY HEAD-QUARTERS INSTEAD OF IN PARLIAMENTARY OFFICES, THUS MAKING ENTRY OF GOVERNMENT MEMBERS MORE DIFFICULT. ALTHOUGH SOME MEMBERS OF NOVAS GOVT HAD DECLARED BEFOREHAND THEY WOULD ATTEND, PRIMIN NOVAS ANNOUNCED THIS MORNING THAT GOVT MEMBERS WOULD NOT TRY TO FORCE WAY INTO MEETING, AND NOVAS INSTEAD SENT LETTER TO PAPANDREOU WHICH HE ASKED TO BE READ BEFORE GROUP. NOISY AND ENTHUSIASTIC CROWD OF ABOUT 5,000 PERSONS ASSEMBLED OUTSIDE MEETING PLACE AND CHEERED STEADILY FOR PAPANDREOU, WHO TOGETHER WITH KEY MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY APPEARED ON BALCONY TO ACKNOWLEDGE CHEERS.

AT CAUCUS ITSELF PAPANDREOU PRESENTED ONE ORDER OF BUSINESS  
- - PROTOCOL TO BE SIGNED BY EACH DEPUTY PLEDGING TO VOTE AGAINST NOVAS GOVT. ONLY TWO DEPUTIES, RENDIS OF CORINTH AND

PAGE 4, RUQMAT 480A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LORAS OF IOANNINA, SPOKE AGAINST PROPOSAL, AND WERE HOOTED DOWN BY THEIR COLLEAGUES. ALL OTHER 118 CU DEPUTIES PRESENT SIGNED PROTOCOL, AND TELEGRAMS WERE RECEIVED FROM ADDITIONAL 25 GIVING THEIR ENDORSEMENTS. AMONG 25 WHO SENT TELEGRAMS WAS GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY 15 DEPUTIES HEADED BY FORMER INTERIORMIN TSIRIMOKOS, WHO WAS STRANDED IN THESSALONIKI DUE TO CANCELLATION OF PLANE FLIGHT (ALTHOUGH THERE WAS SPECULATION THAT CANCELLATION MIGHT HAVE BEEN POLITICAL). ADDITIONAL PLANE WAS DESPATCHED TO THESSALONIKI TO BRING TSIRIMOKOS GROUP TO ATHENS, BUT GROUP ARRIVED ONLY AT MEETING'S END.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- 156, JULY 29 FROM ATHENS

COMMENT: WHILE BREAKDOWN OF EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT STEPHANOPOULOS-TYPE SOLUTION TO CURRENT IMPASSE MAY BE ONLY TEMPORARY, NEVERTHELESS PROSPECTS OF STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION HAVE RECEIVED REAL PSYCHOLOGICAL BLOW. IN ADDITION, BITTER ATTACK ON KING AND HIS ADVISORS BY STEPHANOPOULOS BACKER LAMBRAKIS WILL PROBABLY MAKE KING EVEN MORE RELUCTANT TO GET INVOLVED IN PRO-STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF FACT THAT STEPHANOPOULOS' WISHY-WASHY ATTITUDE MAKES SUPPORT FOR HIM RISKY.

FURTHER, SUCCESS OF PAPANDREOU AT HIS PARLIAMENTARY GROUP,

PAGE 5, RUQMAT 480A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEETING IN GETTING 143 CU DEPUTIES TO AGREE TO VOTE AGAINST NOVAS MAKES CHANCES OF NOVAS GOVT, NEVER BRIGHT, EVEN MORE DOUBTFUL. WHILE SIGNATURE ON PROTOCOL DOES NOT BIND DEPUTIES LEGALLY TO VOTE AGAINST NOVAS, NEVERTHELESS IT WILL EXERT STRONG PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURE ON DEPUTIES AND GREAT BULK OF THOSE WHO SIGNED PROTOCOL MAY BE EXPECTED TO VOTE AGAINST NOVAS. THUS, PAPANDREOU HAS RECEIVED LIFT IN CURRENT PSYCHOLOGICAL STRUGGLE.

ATTENTION NOW FOCUSES ON PARL, WHERE TOMORROW NIGHT NEW GOVT WILL MAKE ITS FIRST APPEARANCE. POSSIBILITY THAT PAPANDREOU WILL UTILIZE HIS LARGE PERSONAL FOLLOWING TO EXERT PRESSURE ON DEPUTIES BY DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE PARL CANNOT BE EXCLUDED. QUESTION OF ELECTION OF SPEAKER IS EXPECTED TO BE DECIDED TOMORROW NIGHT, AND GOVT WILL PRESENT ITS PROGRAM ON MONDAY, WITH DEBATE TO BEGIN TWO DAYS LATER.

GP-4. ANSCHUETZ  
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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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Action  
NEA~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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1965 JUL 27 PM 3 06

Info O VV QMA817VV ATAA109  
PP RUEHCR  
SS DE RUQMAT 431A 2081800  
G ZNY CCCCC  
SP P R 271730Z ZEA  
SAH FM AMEMBASSY/ATHENS/  
L TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 137/  
L INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 30  
EUR RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 34  
P RUHFPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 40  
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NSC STATE GRNC  
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INR ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 27  
CIA  
NSA PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.  
DOD  
AID USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.  
OPR GEORGE PAPANDREOU HAS NOW ANNOUNCED THAT CENTER UNION CAUCUS  
RSR WILL MEET THURSDAY MORNING IN LIBERAL CLUB OFFICERS TO DISCUSS  
CU "POSITION TOWARDS THE NOVAS GOVERNMENT." PAPANDREOU INDICATED  
HE WILL NOT DISCUSS POLITICAL SITUATION MORE GENERALLY UNTIL  
AFTER FALL OF NOVAS GOVERNMENT. IT STILL OPEN QUESTION WHETHER  
PRESENT MEMBERS OF NOVAS GOVERNMENT WILL ATTEMPT TO FORCE  
THEMSELVES INTO LIBERAL CLUB OFFICES TO PARTICIPATE IN PARTY

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 431A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEETING. DECISION NOT TO HOLD MEETING IN PARLIAMENT BUILDING  
WAS TO MAKE ENTRY OF GOVT MEMBERS INTO MEETING MORE DIFFICULT,  
WHICH STEP IS, OF COURSE, A DIRECT SLAP AT NOVAS, MITSOTAKIS,  
ET AL.

PRESSURES CONTINUE TO BE EXERTED ON PAPANDREOU TO ACCEPT A  
THIRD PARTY SOLUTION, BUT HIS PUBLIC STANCE IS ONE OF "ABSOL-  
UTELY NO COMPROMISE." AS HE PUT IT TO PRESS, "ENTIRE CENTER  
UNION PARTY IS IN AGREEMENT WITH LINE WE ARE FOLLOWING, BUT  
EVEN IF I WERE TO STAND ALONE THERE WOULD BE NO COMPROMISE.  
THE STRUGGLE WILL AGAIN BE RELENTLESS AND AS IN PAST IT WILL  
SUCCEED AGAIN NOW. DEMOCRACY WILL WIN AGAIN."

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-2- 137, July 27, From: Athens

THIS STAND HAS GENERATED A FEELING OF GENERAL DEPRESSION AMONG THOSE CENTER UNION DEPUTIES WHO ARE COVERTLY ANTI-PAPANDREOU, AND THIS ATTITUDE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE VERY WISHY-WASHY POSITION OF STEPHANOPOULOS, WHOM NOBODY SEEMS TO BE ABLE TO PROP UP LONG ENOUGH TO ACCEPT THE "THIRD PARTY" ROLE. HOWEVER, SOME SOLUTION MAY BE WORKED OUT AS MORE AND MORE CENTER UNION DEPUTIES FACE THE DILEMMA OF EITHER ELECTIONS OR A NON-CENTER UNION SOLUTION.

PRESS TODAY IS ALSO STRIKING AT MANNER IN WHICH PAPANDREOUS

PAGE 3, RUQMAT 431A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HAVE BEEN RUNNING GOVT AS A "SMALL FAMILY SHOP." REVELATION THAT MARGARET PAPANDREOU REPORTEDLY WROTE DREW PEARSON CONCERNING "SECRET ASPECTS OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KING AND PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE" IS BEING USED BY ELEFThERIA TO HIT HARD AT THE PAPANDREOUS. PAPANDREOU PRESS HAS BEEN REPLAYING ARTICLES WRITTEN ABROAD FAVORABLE TO ITS SIDE OF THE CASE, AND NOW ELEFThERIA AS WELL AS OPPOSITION PRESS ARE USING QUOTES WHICH SUIT ITS NEEDS. HOWEVER, UNCOVERING THE FACT THAT WIFE OF THE YOUNGER PAPANDREOU ACTIVELY PROMOTING THIS TYPE OF NEWS REPORTING PROVIDES OCCASION TO TAKE FURTHER SLAP AT PAPANDREOU FAMILY.

AS TO DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT, IT IS STATED THAT THERE MAY BE SOME DISCLOSURES ON ASPIDA, AND RESULTS OF WIRE TAPPING EVIDENCE GIVEN AT THAT TIME. THERE IS, FURTHERMORE, A FEAR THAT THE ENTIRE PARLIAMENTARY SESSION MAY BE A NOISY ONE WITH DISTURBANCES IN THE CHAMBER NOT ONLY ON FLOOR BUT ALSO IN GALLERY. THERE ALSO PREDICTIONS THAT PARLIAMENTARY SESSIONS WHICH MAY RUN OVER THE WEEKEND WILL PROVIDE FORUM FOR STORMY DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT AREA DESIGNED FORCE RESIGNATION OF NOVAS BEFORE HIS GOVT CAN PRESENT ITS PROGRAM AND CALL FOR VOTE.

PAPANDREOU HOLDING CONTINUING MEETING WITH GROUPS OF DEPUTIES,

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- 137, July 27, From: Athens

PAGE 4, RUQMAT 431A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

AND THROUGH COMBINATION OF THREATS, PROMISES AND CAJOLERY, APPEARS TO BE KEEPING THEM IN LINE. PARTICULARLY TELLING IS PAPANDREOU PROMISE THAT DEPUTIES WHO STICK BY HIM WILL BE ASSURED OF REELECTION WHEN ELECTIONS CALLED.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ  
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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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Action

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1965 JUL 25 AM 8 40

Info

RR RUEHCR

DE RUQMAT 392A 2061115

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 124

INFO RUHHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 35

RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH

RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 27

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 31

STATE GRNC

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 25

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS

USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS

POLITICAL SCENE RELATIVELY QUIET TODAY (SUNDAY) ALTHOUGH ALL FACTIONS IN DISPUTE CARRYING ON BEHIND-SCENE MANEUVERING TO LINE UP SUPPORT FOR THEIR RESPECTIVE POSITIONS. (EMBTel 122).

CRISIS APPEARS TO BE ENTERING ITS CRITICAL PHASE THIS WEEK WITH PARLIAMENT CONVENING THURSDAY (JULY 29) TO BEGIN DEBATE LEADING TO CONFIDENCE VOTE ON NOVAS GOVT. CU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP EXPECTED TO MEET IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO OPENING PARLIAMENT. ALTHOUGH THERE IS NOW LULL IN STREET DEMONSTRATIONS, THERE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 392A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IS STRONG POSSIBILITY OF VIOLENCE THIS WEEK, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF GENERAL STRIKE SCHEDULED FOR TUESDAY AND PLANS FOR NEW STUDENT DEMONSTRATION.

ALL SIDES USING PRESS TO CREATE IMPRESSION THERE IS DRIFT

IN THEIR DIRECTION. PRO-GOVT ELEFThERIA REPORTS TODAY THAT 60 CU DEPUTIES MET YESTERDAY AND DECIDED THAT IF PAPANDREOU DOES NOT SET DATE FOR CONVENING OF CU PARLIAMENTARY GROUP BY TOMORROW THEN THEY WILL PROPOSE CONVENING OF GROUP UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF THREE-MEMBER COMMITTEE. PAPER ASSERTS THAT DEPUTIES FEAR THAT PAPANDREOU WILL DELAY HOLDING OF MEETING UNTIL IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO CONVENING OF PARLIAMENT IN ORDER

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-2- 124 JULY 25 FROM ATHENS

NOT TO ALLOW TIME TO DISCUSS PARTY POLICY. KATHIMERINI (ERE) PLAYS UP "INTENSE ACTIVITY" OF FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS TO FIND SOLUTION TO CURRENT IMPASSE, EITHER THROUGH BECOMING PRIMIN HIMSELF OR THROUGH SUPPORTING "GOVT OF PERSONALITIES" HEADED BY FIGURE SUCH AS BANK OF GREECE GOV. ZOLOTAS. SAME PAPER CLAIMS PAPANDREOUS BEING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED WITHIN PARTY AND HAVE NOW BECOME "SECONDARY FACTOR" IN CRISIS.

COORDMIN MITSOTAKIS, IN RADIO INTERVIEW YESTERDAY, ASSERTED

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 392A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
ONLY TWO SOLUTIONS POSSIBLE IN CURRENT CRISIS; (1) CU TO REMAIN UNITED AND SERVE OUT ITS FOUR YEARS OR (2) HOLDING OF NEW ELECTIONS UNDER PROPORTIONAL SYSTEM. MITSOTAKIS DENIED THAT HE WAS "TRAITOR" FOR PARTICIPATING IN NOVAS GOVT AND SAID HE HAD JOINED GOVT BECAUSE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO LEAVE COUNTRY WITHOUT GOVT "AND AT MERCY OF DARK FORCES OF ANOMALY."

KING CONSTANTINE IS EXPECTED BACK IN ATHENS TODAY FROM CORFU TO ATTEND MAP EXERCISES AT DEFENSE COLLEGE, TOGETHER WITH NOVAS AND DEFMIN KOSTOPOULOS. TOMORROW KING EXPECTED TO VISIT TRIPOLIS. ANSCHUETZ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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87

Action FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS ~~SECRET~~  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 123  
STATE GRNC

17384

NEA BT

Info ~~SECRET~~ JULY 23

1965 JUL 24 PM 5 27

SS RE EMBTEL 122.  
G EMBASSY'S CURRENT POSITION REGARDING SOLUTION PRESENT  
SP POLITICAL CRISIS, WHICH WE HAVE COORDINATED [REDACTED] IS  
AS FOLLOWS:

3.3  
(6)(1)

SAH A) SITUATION HAS NOT DEVELOPED TO POINT WHERE U.S. ATTITUDE  
L MIGHT BE DECISIVE. CONSEQUENTLY WE ARE ENDEAVORING TO MAIN-  
EUR TAIN GREATEST POSSIBLE DISCRETION.

NSC B) IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE WE FELT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL, WE  
INR HAVE PRIVATELY EXPRESSED VIEW NOVAS SOLUTION WHICH, THOUGH  
CIA NOT VERY PROMISING AT LEAST HAS ADVANTAGE SOME DECLARED  
NSA ADHERENTS, WHOULD NOT BE PREMATURELY ABANDONED.

DOD C) WITH REGARD STEPHANOPOULOS, WE HAVE NOTED THIS FORMULA  
RSR DEPENDS UPON WILLINGNESS OF STEPHANOPOULOS, CERTAIN OTHER  
C.U. LEADERS, AND PARTICULARLY SUCH NEWSPAPERS AS VIMA,  
NEA AND MAKEDONIA TO FORCE ACCEPTANCE THIS SOLUTION ON  
PAPANDREOU OR PROCEED WITHOUT HIM. UNLESS AND UNTIL SUPPORT  
THESE ELEMENTS IS DEFINITELY ACQUIRED IT WOULD BE DANGEROUS  
TO ABANDON NOVAS. IN PRINCIPLE WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO  
STEPHANOPOULOS OR "STEPHANOPOULOS PLAN", WHICH IN THEORY  
WOULD PERSERVE A WIDER MEASURE OF UNITY IN C.U.

D) WE HAVE NOT DEMONSTRATED ANY ENTHUSIASM FOR NEW EFFORT  
TO FIND COMPROMISE BETWEEN KING AND PAPANDREOU. THIS WOULD  
PROBABLY LEAVE PAPANDREOU IN EVEN MORE POWERFUL POSITION  
IN C.U. MOREOVER, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY KING WOULD CONSENT.  
WE RECONGNIZE, HOWEVER, PAPANDREOU MAY YET EMERGE VICTOR AND  
THAT WE MAY HAVE TO LIVE WITH HIM. WE ARE ENDEAVORING AVOID  
ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE U.S. POSITON IN THIS EVENTUALITY.

GIVEN INCREDIBLY SENSITIVE POLITICAL ACOUSTICS IN ATHENS AND  
VIRTUOSITY OF GREEK TALENT FOR MISREPRESENTATION AND DISTOR-  
TION, EMBASSY POSITION IS CONSTANT SUBJECT FOR LOCAL  
EXPLOITATION. FOR EXAMPLE: KING HAS BEEN QUOTED AS SAYING  
I DISCOURAGED STEPHANOPOULOS FROM FORMING OR JOINING GOVERN-  
MENT FOLLOWING PAPANDREOU RESIGNATION; RIGHTIST ELEMENTS  
HAVE CHARGED THAT U.S. IS NO LONGER INTERESTED IN FIGHTING  
COMMUNISM; ANDREAS PAPANDREOU TOLD ME HE KNOWS AMERICANS  
ARE SAYING THAT HE MUST GO. THIS SPECTRUM OF COMMENTARY SUG-  
GESTS THAT ALTHOUGH OUR ATTEMPT NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED MAY  
NOT PROVE TO BE COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL, THE EFFORT IS AT LEAST  
A VALIANT ONE.

~~SECRET~~

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3P-1. ANSCHUETZ

SANITIZED  
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NLI 08-184  
By *id* NARA, Date 12-10-08



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

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~~SECRET~~

Action FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 123  
STATE GRNC

17384

NEA BT

Info ~~SECRET~~ JULY 23

1955 JUL 24 PM 5 27

SS RE EMBTEL 122.  
G EMBASSY'S CURRENT POSITION REGARDING SOLUTION PRESENT  
SP POLITICAL CRISIS, WHICH WE HAVE COORDINATED [REDACTED] IS  
AS FOLLOWS:

- SAH A) SITUATION HAS NOT DEVELOPED TO POINT WHERE U.S. ATTITUDE  
L MIGHT BE DECISIVE. CONSEQUENTLY WE ARE ENDEAVORING TO MAIN-  
EUR TAIN GREATEST POSSIBLE DISCRETION.  
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INR B) IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE WE FELT IT MIGHT BE HELPFUL, WE  
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DOD ADHERENTS, WHOULD NOT BE PREMATURELY ABANDONNED.  
RSR C) WITH REGARD STEPHANOPOULOS, WE HAVE NOTED THIS FORMULA  
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C.U. LEADERS, AND PARTICULARLY SUCH NEWSPAPERS AS VIMA,  
NEA AND MAKEDONIA TO FORCE ACCEPTANCE THIS SOLUTION ON  
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TO ABANDON NOVAS. IN PRINCIPLE WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO  
STEPHANOPOULOS OR "STEPHANOPOULOS PLAN", WHICH IN THEORY  
WOULD PERSERVE A WIDER MEASURE OF UNITY IN C.U.  
D) WE HAVE NOT DEMONSTRATED ANY ENTHUSIASM FOR NEW EFFORT  
TO FIND COMPROMISE BETWEEN KING AND PAPANDREOU. THIS WOULD  
PROBABLY LEAVE PAPANDREOU IN EVEN MORE POWERFUL POSITION  
IN C.U. MOREOVER, IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY KING WOULD CONSENT.  
WE RECONGNIZE, HOWEVER, PAPANDREOU MAY YET EMERGE VICTOR AND  
THAT WE MAY HAVE TO LIVE WITH HIM. WE ARE ENDEAVORING AVOID  
ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT PREJUDICE U.S. POSITON IN THIS EVENTUALITY.

GIVEN INCREDIBLY SENSITIVE POLITICAL ACOUSTICS IN ATHENS AND  
VIRTUOSITY OF GREEK TALENT FOR MISREPRESENTATION AND DISTOR-  
TION, EMBASSY POSITION IS CONSTANT SUBJECT FOR LOCAL  
EXPLOITATION. FOR EXAMPLE: KING HAS BEEN QUOTED AS SAYING  
I DISCOURAGED STEPHANOPOULOS FROM FORMING OR JOINING GOVERN-  
MENT FOLLOWING PAPANDREOU RESIGNATION; RIGHTIST ELEMENTS  
HAVE CHARGED THAT U.S. IS NO LONGER INTERESTED IN FIGHTING  
COMMUNISM; ANDREAS PAPANDREOU TOLD ME HE KNOWS AMERICANS  
ARE SAYING THAT HE MUST GO. THIS SPECTRUM OF COMMENTARY SUG-  
GESTS THAT ALTHOUGH OUR ATTEMPT NOT TO BECOME INVOLVED MAY  
NOT PROVE TO BE COMPLETELY SUCCESSFUL, THE EFFORT IS AT LEAST  
A VALIANT ONE.

~~SECRET~~

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3P-1. ANSCHUETZ

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 12-118

NARA, Date 03-23-2014

by LWB



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

52

43

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Action

PP RUEHCR

NEA

DE RUQMAT 389A 2051530

Info

ZNY CCCCC

17368

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P R 241510Z ZEA

1965 JUL 24 PM 3 06

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SP

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

SAH

L

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 122

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INFO RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 30

EUR

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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 26

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 34

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 24

RSR

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.

USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.

PSYCHOLOGICAL TUG OF WAR BETWEEN NOVAS GOVT AND PAPANDREOU FORCES BEING INTENSIFIED, WITH EACH SIDE ATTEMPTING TO CREATE IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS DRIFT IN ITS DIRECTION. HOWEVER, AS REPORTED IN EMBTEL 106, IT APPEARS THAT DEFINITE TREND HAS NOT YET CRYSTALLIZED AND BULK OF DEPUTIES WAITING TO SEE

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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-2- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

WHICH SIDE WILL EMERGE VICTORIOUS. FRANTIC BEHIND-SCENES  
EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE BY BOTH SIDES TO LINE UP SUPPORT

PAGE 2, RUQMAT 389A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FOR THEIR POSITIONS. IN ADDITION, BOTH SIDES ARE GOING ALL  
OUT IN EFFORT TO USE PUBLIC MEDIA TO GET THEIR STORIES ACROSS.

PAPANDREOU, WITH HIS UNCANNY SENSE OF POLITICAL TIMING AND  
FLAIR FOR THE DRAMATIC, HAS BEEN QUITE EFFECTIVE IN MAKING  
HIS CASE BOTH TO GREEK PUBLIC AND TO FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.  
YESTERDAY PAPANDREOU MET WITH OVER 100 NEWSMEN TO EXPLAIN  
HIS POSITION (EMBTEL 1). HE AND MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP,  
PARTICULARLY ANDREAS, ARE ENCOURAGING INTERVIEWS WITH COR-  
RESPONDENTS. IN A SENSE, PAPANDREOU HAS MADE FOREIGN PRESS  
CENTER OF BATTLE, AND COUNTS ON FAVORABLE PRESS COVERAGE  
IN ENGLAND, SCANDANAVIAN COUNTRIES AND U.S. AS MEANS OF  
PRESSURING HIS OPPONENT TO COME TO TERMS. UNQUESTIONABLY  
PAPANDREOU'S OVER-SIMPLIFIED VERSION OF HIS RESIGNATION,

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

WHICH HE PRESENTS AS CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS OVER QUESTION WHETHER KING OR GOVERNMENT (AS REPRESENTATIVE OF PEOPLE) RULES, HAS RECEIVED SUPPORT ABROAD. THUS, IN TERMS OF IMAGERY - - PARTICULARLY ABROAD - - PAPANDREOU SEEMS TO HAVE DEFINITE ADVANTAGE OVER KING AND NOVAS GOVT.

NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT PAPANDREOU CAMP FAR FROM CONFIDENT. NUMBER OF PAPANDREOU FOLLOWERS HAVE

PAGE 3, RUQMAT 389A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CALLED ON EMBASSY OFFICERS DURING PAST 2 - 3 DAYS TO EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN ABOUT PRESENT CRISIS, TO EMPHASIZE THAT ONLY SOLUTION IS RETURN OF PAPANDREOU, AND TO REQUEST EMBASSY TO WARN PALACE AGAINST CONTEMPLATING MILITARY SOLUTION AS WAY OUT OF CURRENT IMPASSE. IN SEVERAL CASES THIS REQUEST HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY WARNING THAT MILITARY DICTATORSHIP COULD NOT LAST LONG ON BORDERS OF COMMUNIST WORLD. PAPANDREOU HIMSELF TOLD GERMAN CORRESPONDENT THAT "GREECE <sup>IS</sup>

NOT PORTUGAL",

WITH IMPLICATION THAT WHILE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP FEASIBLE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-4- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

IN COUNTRY SO FAR REMOVED FROM COMMUNIST BLOC, SAME WOULD NOT BE CASE IN GREECE. THIS THEME IS ALSO BEING USED BY PAPANDREOU FOLLOWERS.

EVEN MORE DISCONCERTING ADREAS PAPANDREOU HAS TALKED CASUALLY IN CONVERSATION WITH AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT OF LIKELIHOOD OF CIVIL WAR IN EVENT SOLUTION NOT REACHED SOON. IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT IN EVENT FINAL SOLUTION EXCLUDED PAPANDREOUS FROM GOVT, ANDREAS PAPANDREOU AT LEAST WOULD ATTACK U.S. AS BEING RESPONSIBLE FOR SUCH EXCLUSION. SOURCE WELL ACQUAINTED WITH PAPANDREOU HAS WARNED EMBASSY THAT SUCH ATTACK LIKELY. ANDREAS' AMERICAN WIFE, MARGARET, IS

PAGE 4, RUQMAT 389A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REPORTED TO HAVE INITIATED CAMPAIGN WRITING LETTERS TO VARIOUS PEOPLE IN UNITED STATES ATTRIBUTING ANTI-PAPANDREOU SENTIMENTS TO CERTAIN U.S. ELEMENTS HERE AND ENDEAVORING STIMULATE WIDE-SPREAD SUPPORT IN U.S. FOR SOLUTION BASED ON "POPULAR WILL."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-5- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

KEY QUESTIONS ARE, OF COURSE, WHETHER NOVAS GOVT CAN SECURE CONFIDENCE VOTE NEXT WEEK IN PARL AND, IF NOT, WHETHER NEW SOLUTION, BASED ON FORMER DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER STEPHANOPOULOS OR PERHAPS EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY FIGURE SUCH AS MAVROS OR ZOLOTAS COULD BE FOUND, EITHER WITH OR WITHOUT AGREEMENT OF PAPANDREOUS. ALTHOUGH PROSPECTS DO NOT APPEAR BRIGHT FOR NOVAS GOVT, EMBASSY NOT YET READY TO ABANDON PROSPECT THAT NOVAS MIGHT STILL MAKE IT. IN VIEW OF PRESENT UNCERTAIN ATMOSPHERE, WITH BULK OF DEPUTIES COMMITTED TO NOTHING OTHER THAN THEIR OWN POLITICAL SURVIVAL, IT IS STILL POSSIBLE THAT THERE MIGHT BE LAST-MINUTE MOVE TOWARDS NOVAS WHICH, ONCE STARTED, COULD QUICKLY SNOWBALL. PROPONENTS OF STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION CONTINUE ASSERT THAT VIMA-NEA PUBLISHER VELLIDES AND ATHINAIKI PUBLISHER PAPANGEORGIOU WILL SUPPORT THEM. PAPANDREOU'S APPROVAL WOULD BE INITIALLY REQUESTED BUT GROUP PREPARED PROCEED WITHOUT IT.

PAGE 5, RUQMAT 389A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CRITICAL PERIOD IS NEXT 5 - 6 DAYS BEFORE PARL CONVENES. IMPORTANT QUESTION IS WHETHER OR NOT GOVT WILL BE ABLE RELEASE REPORT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-6- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

IMPLICATING ANDREAS PAPANDREOU WITH SECRET ARMY ORGANIZATION ASPIDA. ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN BENERALLY ASSUMED THAT YOUNGER PAPANDREOU WAS DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THIS PLOT, GOVT HAS NOT YET PRODUCED EVIDENCE. IN ANY CASE, IF SUCH EVIDENCE IS TO HAVE REAL EFFECT ON DEPUTIES AND PUBLIC OPINION, IT MUST BE DAMNING. FOR HIS PART PAPANDREOU WILL STEP UP HIS PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AGAINST DEPUTIES - - ONE MOVE IN THCS CONNECTION WAS RELEASE TO PRESS OF NAMES OF 144 CU DEPUTIES WHO HAVE ALLEGEDLY PLEDGED THEIR LOYALTY TO HIM BY TELEGRAM. HOWEVER, EMBASSY OFFICERS HAVE TALKED WITH MORE THAN A DOZEN OF THESE DEPUTIES AND FOUND THAT THERE IS ALMOST NO ONE WHO IS DETERMINED TO STICK WITH PAPANDREOU TO END IF IT APPEARS THAT OTHER SOLUTION MIGHT EMERGE.

EDA, WHICH IS HAVING FIELD DAY WITH PRESENT CRISIS AND TENSION, WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY MAKE SPECTACULAR BID TO UNDERMINE NOVAS GOVT JUST BEFORE PARL CONVENES ON JULY 29. ALTHOUGH YESTERDAY'S TURNOUT FOR PETROULAS FUNERAL WAS PEACEFUL, IMPRESSIVE NUMBER OF PERSONS WAS IMPLIED THREAT OF HOW LARGE A GROUP EDA CAN TURN OUT WHEN IT WISHES. OPPORTUNITIES

PAGE 6, RUQMAT 389A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FOR LARGE-SCALE DEMONSTRATIONS WITH GOOD POSSIBILITIES FOR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-7- 122, JULY 24, FROM ATHENS

VIOLENCE EXIST THIS COMING WEEK, WHEN THERE WILL BE GENERAL STRIKE (TUESDAY) AND REPORTEDLY NEW STUDENT DEMONSTRATION. HOWEVER, VIOLENCE OF EDA TYPE IS TWO-EDGE SWORD WHICH, WHILE IT MAY INTIMIDATE SOME DEPUTIES, COULD ALARM OTHERS INTO ABANDONING PAPANDREOU CAMP.

COMMENT: IN TERMS OF INFLUENCE AND PRESTIGE U.S. HAS UNIQUE ROLE IN GREECE. MASSIVE U.S. AID DURING THE 1940'S AND 1950'S, THE EXTREMELY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES SINCE WORLD WAR II, HAS INCLINED GREEKS TO LOOK FOR SUPPORT AND GUIDANCE TO U.S. IN VIEW OF THIS SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, GREEKS ALTHOUGH LOUDLY DECRYING FOREIGN INTERFERENCE INVARIABLY SEEK ENLIST U.S. SUPPORT FOR RESPECTIVE SOLUTIONS. AT PRESENT TIME EMBASSY IS BEING PRESSED TO TAKE ROLE IN BREAKING CURRENT IMPASSE (ALTHOUGH PRINCIPALS THEMSELVEY HAVE NOT DIRECTLY MADE SUCH REQUEST). UNTIL NOW EMBASSY HAS BEEN REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL IN AVOIDING ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT. HOWEVER, WE RECOGNIZE POSSIBILITY THAT CIRCUMSTANCES MAY DEVELOP IN SUCH MANNER THAT DIRECT U.S. SUPPORT FOR SPECIFIC SOLUTION COULD BE DECISIVE.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



SUMMARY

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State**Ant* <sup>53</sup>

87

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14988

Action

R 212325Z ZEA

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

NEA

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC 107

1965 JUL 21 PM 8 55

Info

INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 22

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 27

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RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 30

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RUJFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

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P

CU

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS. USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.

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STUDENT DEMONSTRATION AT UNIVERSITY THIS EVENING TURNED INTO BLOODY CONFLICT WHEN STUDENTS, IN DEFIANCE OF GOVT BAN, ATTEMPTED TO MARCH ON CONSTITUTION SQUARE (WHERE PARL LOCATED) AND WERE MET BY POLICE RIOT SQUADS WHO USED CLUBS AND TEAR GAS TO DISPERSE THEM. ACCORDING TO INCOMPLETE POLICE REPORTS, ONE PERSON WAS KILLED AND OVER 30 SERIOUSLY WOUNDED, INCLUDING 15 POLICEMEN, WITH CASUALTIES EXPECTED TO RISE HIGHER AS FURTHER REPORTS ARE RECEIVED. THREE POLICE VEHICLES WERE REPORTEDLY BURNED BY DEMONSTRATORS.

PURPOSE OF RALLY, WHICH WAS SPONSORED BY PRO-CU STUDENT ORGANIZATION (WHICH ARE TO LEFT OF PARENT PARTY), WAS TO PROTEST OUSTER OF FORMER PRIMIN PAPANDREOU AND TO DEMAND FALL OF NOVAS GOVT. SLOGANS AND POSTERS ALSO ATTACKED MONARCHY AND IN SOME INSTANCES, U.S. POLICE HAD GIVEN PERMISSION TO STUDENTS TO HOLD RALLY WITHIN CONFINES OF UNIVERSITY ON CONDITION THAT NO EFFORT BE MADE TO MARCH ON PARL. AS RALLY ENDED, LARGE GROUP OF STUDENTS, JOINED BY OTHER PERSONS ALONG WAY, HEADED TOWARDS PARL. WHEN DEMONSTRATORS REFUSED ORDER TO DISPERSE, STEEL-HELMETED POLICE CHARGED CROWDS WITH CLUBS AND TEAR GAS. AS CONFLICT RAGED ALONG MAIN ATHENS THOROUGHFARES AND INTO SIDE STREETS, SCORES OF TOURISTS WERE CAUGHT UP IN FIGHTING. FIGURES FOR PARTICIPANTS IN MARCH NOT YET AVAILABLE, ALTHOUGH POLICE ESTIMATE NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO ATTENDED RALLY AT AROUND 10,000 PERSONS.

EFFECT OF TONIGHT'S RALLY WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE INTENSIFICATION OF CURRENT CRISIS.

ANSCHUETZ

ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O, 7/21/65, 9:18 P.M.

NOTE: PASSED WHITE HOUSE, DOD, CIA, 7/21/65, 9:42 P.M.

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

54

*Cut*

87 PP RUEHCR  
BDMAT 343A 2021830  
ZNY SSSSS  
P R 211810Z ZEA

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14825

Action

NEA FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

Info

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC **PRIORITY 106**

1965 JUL 21 PM 4 12

SS

INFO RUQM GU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 21

G

RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 26

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RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 29

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~~SECRET~~ JULY 21

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

State Dept. Guidelines

By cbm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

P

PARIS FOR JAMES AND BURNS.

USIA

USDOCOSOUTH FOR BURRIS.

NSC

LAST NIGHT'S SWEARING-IN OF 5 NEW MINISTERS (EMBTel 99)

INR

CIA

GAVE SLIGHT PSYCHOLOGICAL BOOST TO NOVAS GOVT AND INDICATES THAT WITH ALL MAJOR POSTS NOW FILLED, NEW GOVT LIKELY TO SURVIVE UNTIL PARLIAMENT RECONVENES JULY 30..

NSA

DOD

AID

AS CRISIS TOUCHED OFF BY PAPANDREOU OUSTER GOES INTO SECOND WEEK, PRESSURES WITHIN CU FOR SOLUTION TO CURRENT DILEMMA APPEAR TO BE INCREASING. TWO FORMER MEMBERS OF PAPANDREOU

RSR

CABINET, UNDER MINISTERS PAPA CONSTANTINOU (DEFENSE) AND SPANORIGAS (COMMERCE), TOLD EMBASSY OFFICER TODAY THAT ONLY WAY OUT OF IMPASSE IS FORMATION OF GOVT UNDER FORMER DEPUTY PRIMIN STEPHANOPOULOS. SINCE BOTH FIGURES ARE PUBLICLY IDENTIFIED AS STRONG SUPPORTERS OF PAPANDREOU, THEY WOULD APPEAR TO REFLECT BEGINNING OF DRIFT AWAY FROM PAPANDREOU LINE THAT SOLUTION TO PROBLEM IS RETURN OF FORMER PRIME MINISTER.

FROM TALKS WITH THESE AND MANY OTHER FIGURES IN CU, IT APPEARS THAT GREAT MAJORITY OF DEPUTIES IN PARTY ARE INCREASINGLY COMING TO REALIZE THAT LIKELIHOOD OF PAPANDREOU'S RETURNING TO GOVT - - AT LEAST IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE - - IS DECREASING WITH EACH PASSING DAY. FURTHER, THERE IS UNEASY AWARENESS THAT SINCE KING UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO PAPANDREOU'S RETURN AND TO ELECTIONS, ONLY WAY THESE GOALS COULD BE ACHIEVED WOULD BE THROUGH EXTREMIST POLICY, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, STRIKES, ETC. AS WELL AS COOPERATION WITH THE LEFT. VAST MAJORITY OF DEPUTIES WOULD VIEW SUCH COURSE WITH DISTASTE AND APPREHENSION. ON OTHER HAND, POPULARITY OF PAPANDREOU (REAFFIRMED BY LAST MONDAY'S RALLY IN ATHENS) IS UNQUESTIONED, AND THERE ARE FEW DEPUTIES WITHIN PARTY WHO ARE WILLING TO OPENLY BRAVE WRATH OF PAPANDREOU, PARTICULARLY IF THERE IS ANY POSSIBILITY AT ALL THAT ELECTIONS MIGHT BE IN OFFING.

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~~SECRET~~

-2- 106, JULY 21, FROM ATHENS

THEREFORE, BULK OF PARTY WOULD PREFER TO SEE STEPHANOPOULOS-TYPE SOLUTION. HOWEVER, THERE ARE TWO GREAT OBSTACLES TO ACHIEVING THIS: (1) OPPOSITION OF PAPANDREOU AND (2) WEAKNESS OF STEPHANOPOULOS, WHO MIGHT WELL REFUSE TO FACE UP TO PAPANDREOU EVEN IF PARTY BEHIND HIM. PAPACONSTANTINOU CLAIMS VIMA PUBLISHER LAMBRAKIS ACCOMPANIED BY STEPHANOPOULOS WILL SEE PAPANDREOU ON ISSUE TODAY.

IN ANY EVENT, DEPUTIES KEEPING THEIR EARS CLOSE TO GROUND IN EFFORT TO DIVINE CONSTANTLY SHIFTING POLITICAL CURRENTS. EACH DAY ONE OR OTHER PROPOSAL FOR SOLUTION TO IMPASSE GAINS SUPPORTERS AND THEN IS QUICKLY DROPPED AS OBJECTIONS APPEAR. THUS, YESTERDAY PROSPECTS FOR STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION WERE "DOWN" (EMBTTEL 97). TODAY THEY ARE "UP", ALTHOUGH NO ONE WOULD PREDICT THAT THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE SO TOMORROW. MEANWHILE FRAIL NOVAS GOVERNMENT STRUGGLES SLOWLY FORWARD.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ  
BT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

55

83

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Action

NNNNVM QME131ATA517

NEA RR RUEHCR

DE RUQMAT 316A 2011730

Info ZNY SSSSS

R 201705Z ZEA

SS FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

G TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC (97)

SP INFO/RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 19

SAH RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 24

L RUFHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 24

EUR RUFRCR/USDOCOSOUTH UNN

P STATE GRNC

BT

USIA ~~SECRET~~ JULY 20

NSC

INR PRINCIPAL EVENT DURING PAST 24 HOURS HAS BEEN IMPRESSIVE  
CIA SHOW MVIYOPULAR SUPPORT FOR PAPANDREOU GENERATED LAST NIGHT  
NSA WHEN SOME 200 CARS FOLLOWED HIM DOWN FROM KASTRI AND THROUGH  
DOD THE BUSINESS SECTIONS TO THE CENTER UNION PARTY HEADQUARTERS  
(SEE SEPTEL).

NIC

AID MEANWHILE, WITHIN CENTER UNION POWER STRUGGLE CONTINUES  
OPR BETWEEN PAPANDREOU FACTION BACKED BY LAMBRAKIS AND NOVAS  
GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED BY KIKKAS. NOVAS GOVERNMENT IS CONTIN-

RSR

UING- TO TRY TO FLESH OUT ITS CABINET WITH ADDITIONAL MINISTERS  
AND SEVEN MORE LIKELY BE SWORN IN TONIGHT. FACT SWEARING-IN  
CEREMONY HAS BEEN POSTPONED TWICE IS INDICATION OF WEAKNESS.  
IT IS CLEAR NOVAS IS HAVING HARD TIME COLLECTING MINISTERS  
AND SUPPORT FROM CENTER UNION FOR HIS CAUSE. WE KNOW FROM  
GOOD AUTHORITY PAPANDREOU FORCES ARE PUTTING ON VERY HEAVY  
PRESSURE TO KEEP POTENTIAL NOVAS CABINET ADHERENTS FROM  
JOINING THE RANKS, EITHER AS MINISTERS OR AS PARTY SUPPORTER.  
TSOUDEROS, AS ONE EXAMPLE, WHO RETURNED FROM GERMANY  
SUNDAY NIGHT, AND HAS BEEN ON-AGAIN-OFF-AGAIN AS POSSIBLE  
UNDER MINISTER OF COORDINATION, REFLECTS PULLING AND TUGGING  
WHICH HAS GONE ON BETWEEN TWO POWER FACTORS IN CENTER UNION  
RANKS. THEOHARIS RENDIS, CU DEPUTY FROM CORRINTH, WAS ALSO  
A POSSIBLE CANDIDATE FOR A MINISTRY IN NEW NOVAS GOVERNMENT,  
HE NOW STATES HE PREFERS TO GIVE HIS SUPPORT TO NOVAS GOVERNMENT,  
BUT NOT BE ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN IT. AS IMPACT OF LAST NIGHT'S  
RALLY IS FELT BY CENTER UNION DEPUTIES, THOSE WHO ARE READY  
TO TAKE BIG LEAP BECOME MORE SCARCE.

AT SAME TIME EFFORTS TO PUSH OUT NOVAS GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY  
AND REPLACE IT WITH A STEPHONOPOULOS CONSTELLATION ARE LOSING  
SOME STEAM AS MORE DEPUTIES REALIZE STEPHANOPOULOS UNLIKELY

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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By ebm, NARA, Date 6-26-03

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1965 JUL 20 PM 2 5

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~~SECRET~~

-2- 97, July 20, From Athens

TO STAND UP TO GEORGE PAPANDREOU. ELIAS TSIRIMOKOS HAS ALSO STATED THAT THE "STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION" IS NOT A VIABLE ONE AND THAT BEST FORMULA AS HE SEES IT IS TO PERSUADE KING TO ACCEPT PAPANDREOU BACK AS HEAD OF GOVERNMENT IN WHICH KING COULD NOMINATE MINDEF BUT MAKING IT A CONDITION THAT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU HAD TO GO. STEPHANOPOULOS IS BY NATURE SUCH A TIMID PERSON THAT HE COULD HARDLY BE EXPECTED TO STAND UP IN THE CENTER UNION PARTY CAUCUS AND URGE THAT BULK OF CENTER UNION DEPUTIES FOLLOW HIM AND SET ASIDE, EVEN FOR A SHORT PERIOD, AS POPULAR A LEADER AS GEORGE PAPANDREOU. MOREOVER RUMORED SUPPORT OF LAMBRAKIS FOR THIS SOLUTION HAS NEVER MATERIALIZED. ESPECIALLY AFTER LAST NIGHT'S "SUCCESS" PAPANDREOU MUST UNDOUBTEDLY FEEL HE HAS THE PEOPLE STAUNCHLY BEHIND HIS IN HIS STRUGGLE ON BEHALF OF DEMOCRACY VIS-A-VIS THE CROWN AND NEEDS TO MAKE NO COMPROMISE.

KOKKAS, WHO CONTINUES SUPPORT NOVAS GOVERNMENT, THIS MORNING EXPRESSED HIS DISMAY AT ALLEGED EMBASSY ADVOCACY OF A STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION SUBSEQUENT TO PRESENT NOVAS EFFORT. HE WAS TOLD EMBASSY IS NOT AT THIS TIME BEHIND ANY STEPHANOPOULOS OR OTHER SOLUTION, BUT ON CONTRARY IS CONVINCED NOVAS GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN EVERY CHANCE BEFORE ANY OTHER FORMULA EMPLOYED.

COMMENT: THERE IS EVERY EVIDENCE THAT NO ONE (EITHER ON THE PAPANDREOU/LAMBRAKIS SIDE OR THE KOKKAS/MITSOTAKIS/NOVAS SIDE) HAS A VIABLE LONG-RANGE PLAN FOR HANDLING THE POLITICAL MESS IN WHICH GREECE NOW FINDS ITSELF. THERE ARE SHORT-RANGE TACTICAL MANEUVERS SUCH AS EFFORTS TO GET ENOUGH CENTER UNION SUPPORT BEHIND THE NOVAS GROUP TO BRING PAPANDREOU'S STRENGTH BELOW 150, BUT NO LONG-RANGE PLAN AS TO WHAT IS THEN TO BE ACHIEVED.

THERE IS A SLIGHT POSSIBILITY THAT NOVAS MIGHT BE ABLE TO BUILD HIS DEPUTY STRENGTH UP FROM THE PRESENT 25-30 TO 50 IF GIVEN ANOTHER WEEK. AS LIKELIHOOD STEPHANOPOULOS FORMULA RECEDES AND POSSIBILITY OF ELECTIONS LOOMS, CU DEPUTIES ARE FACED WITH DILEMMA OF EITHER A) SEEING GEORGE PAPANDREOU AND ANDREAS COME BACK EVEN STRONGER THAN BEFORE, OR B) LENDING SUPPORT TO WEAK NOVAS GOVT.

GP-2. ANSCHUETZ

~~SECRET~~



SUMMARY

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

56

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

12280

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Action

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Info

O SVV QMA939VV ATA297

1965 JUL 18 AM 9 47

PP RUEHCR

DE RUQMAT 270A 1991230

ZNY CCCCC

P 181210Z ZEA

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 90

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 18

L I M D I S

THERE IS UNMISTAKABLE EVIDENCE THAT POLITICAL FORCES ARE NOW AT WORK LOOKING TOWARD NEW FORMULA WHICH MIGHT BE APPLIED FOLLOWING RESIGNATION NOVAS GOVT WHICH MOST OBSERVERS NOW CONSIDER MOST LIKELY. (PRESS TODAY, INCLUDING ELEFThERIA BUT WITH SIGNIFICANT EXCEPTION OF TO VIMA, IS REPORTING ON MOVEMENT AMONG CU DEPUTIES TO ENCOURAGE STEPHANOPOULOS TO FORM NEW CU GOVT WITH BROADER BASE.)

THIS FORMULA BASED ON THESIS THAT NEXT PRIME MINISTER SHOULD BE SELECTED BY THE CENTER UNION PARTY, THEREBY MAINTAINING UNITY OF THE PARTY. OSTENSIBLE PARTY CHOICE WOULD BE VICE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 270A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PREMIER STEPHANOPOULOS WHOSE SELECTION WOULD, AS WE HAVE REPORTED, PRESUMABLY REFLECT THE SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION OF PUBLISHER LAMBRAKIS IN EFFORT CREATE ANOTHER CU GOVERNMENT. IF STEPHANOPOULOS WERE TO ATTEMPT TO FORM NEW GOVERNMENT, HE WOULD EXPECT SUPPORT OF CU LEADERS TSIRIMOKOS AND PAPAPOLITIS.

"STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION" WOULD IN EFFECT CONSTITUTE AN EFFORT BY LAMBRAKIS TO SEIZE MAJOR CONTROL OF CU PARTY. THIS PROJECT FACES TWO PRINCIPAL OBSTACLES: (A) NECESSITY FOR CERTAIN CONCESSIONS TO MITSOTAKIS-KOKKAS ELEMENT. INASMUCH AS KOKKAS AND LAMBRAKIS ARE BITTER RIVALS THE APPORTIONMENT OF POWER BETWEEN THESE TWO FACTIONS WILL BE DELICATE; (B) ATTITUDE OF PAPANDREOU AND SON WHO, TO SAY THE LEAST, WILL NOT BE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT NEW CU GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THEIR PARTICIPATION.

THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT MAJORITY CU DEPUTIES DO NOT WANT RETURN OF PAPANDREOU AND DETEST HIS SON. IF KOKKAS AND LAMBRAKIS CAN REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WHICH COULD RESULT IN FORMATION OF STEPHANOPOULOS GOVERNMENT, NUMBER DEPUTIES MAINTAINING

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State Dept. Guidelines

By ebm, NARA, Date 6-16-03

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-2- 90, JULY 18, FROM ATHENS

LOYALTY TO PAPANDREOUS WOULD PROBABLY RAPIDLY DIMINISH.  
HOWEVER, IF AN AGREEMENT CANNOT BE REACHED BETWEEN KOKKAS AND

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 270A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
LAMBRAKIS ELEMENTS, CENTER UNION WILL REMAIN DANGEROUSLY  
SPLIT AND POSSIBILITY OF NEW ELECTIONS IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE  
WOULD REMAIN VERY REAL. SO LONG AS POSSIBILITY OF NEW  
ELECTION EXISTS, GEORGE PAPANDREOU'S HOLD OVER AN IMPORTANT  
NUMBER OF CU DEPUTIES WILL REMAIN.

COSTOPOULOS TOLD ME THIS MORNING HE BELIEVES EFFORT FORM  
GOVT UNDER STEPHANOPOULOS SHOULD BE QUIETLY ENCOURAGED. HE  
ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT NOVAS GOVT HOPED TO SWEAR FIVE NEW MINISTERS  
TOMORROW MORNING, PRESUMABLY INCLUDING GEORGE MELAS, TSOUDEROS,  
RENTIS, STEPHANAKIS. WITH ADHERENCE THESE NEW MINISTERS AND  
SUPPORT CERTAIN OTHER CU DEPUTIES, POSSIBILITIES OF SUBSEQUENT,  
SUCCESSFUL STEPHANOPOULOS SOLUTION WILL HAVE BEEN ENHANCED.  
ALTHOUGH NOVAS GOVT WOULD NOT HAVE GAINED SUFFICIENT VOTES  
TO WIN CONFIDENCE OF PARLIAMENT, PAPANDREOU STRENGTH IN  
PARLIAMENT WOULD BE REDUCED FROM ITS PRESENT 171 TO LESS  
THAN 150 NECESSARY FOR A MAJORITY. THIS WOULD PLACE  
PAPANDREOU IN THE POSITION OF EITHER HAVING TO TRY TO FORM  
PAPANDREOU GOVT WITH EDA SUPPORT (WHICH COSTOPOULOS CONSIDERS  
WOULD BE SUICIDAL) OR OF CONCURRING IN SELECTION OF NEW CU  
PRIME MINISTER WHO MIGHT THEN BE ABLE TO FORM A GOVERNMENT

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 270A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
BASED ON A PURELY CU MAJORITY. I OBSERVED THAT UNDER THE  
CIRCUMSTANCES IT SEEMED UNLIKELY PAPANDREOU WOULD SUPPORT CU  
GOVT NOT UNDER HIS LEADERSHIP. IN THIS CONNECTION ELEFThERIA  
REPORTS THAT PAPANDREOU IS OPPOSED TO ANY ATTEMPT TO HAVE  
STEPHANOPOULOS FORM NEW GOVT.

COMMENT: ROLE OF STEPHANOPOULOS AND, MORE MORE IMPORTANTLY,  
LAMBRAKIS PROBABLY CRITICAL FACTORS IN EVOLVING SITUATION.  
ALTHOUGH LAMBRAKIS REPORTEDLY WILLING SUPPORT STEPHANOPOULOS  
GOVT, THE ROLE OF HIS PRESS HAS IN RECENT MONTHS BEEN DISTURBINGLY  
IRRESPONSIBLE AND OPPORTUNISTIC. SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT  
IF LAMBRAKIS (WHO IS OF CRETAN, VENEZELIST, AND ANTI-MONARCHIST  
TRADITION) HAD BEEN WILLING TO PUT SOME PRESSURE ON PAPANDREOU,  
A MUTUALLY AGREED SOLUTION BETWEEN PAPANDREOU AND THE KING TO  
QUESTION OF GAROUFALIAS' SUCCESSOR AS MINDEF MIGHT HAVE BEEN  
FOUND. FACT THAT VIMA HAS ATTACKED KING AND NOVAS GOVT PROBABLY  
PRINCIPAL REASON WHY STEPHANOPOULOS, TSIRIMOKOS AND OTHERS  
HAVE WITHHELD THEIR SUPPORT FROM NOVAS GOVT WHOSE LIFE  
EXPECTANCY IS CONSEQUENTLY HIGHLY TENUOUS.

GP-3. ANSCHUETZ

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INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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Action

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY [88]

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1965 JUL 17 PM 6 44

12221

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MASS RALLY SPONSORED BY GSEE BUT THOROUGHLY DOMINATED BY COMMUNISTS AND CRYPTO-COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATION WAS HELD TONIGHT AT PANATHINAIKOS STADIUM (FEW BLOCKS FROM EMBASSY) IN SHOW OF SOLIDARITY WITH FORMER PRIME MINISTER PAPANDREOU. ATTENDANCE, ESTIMATED BY POLICE AT 26,000, INCLUDED CU DEPUTIES ALEVRAS, KATSOTAS, J. TSIRIMOKOS, KOUTSOHERAS, VASSILATOR AND HARALAMBOPOULOS, AS WELL AS GSEE SECY GENERAL PAPAGEORGIOU WHO DELIVERED INFLAMMATORY SPEECH URGING WORKERS TO GO ON STRIKE. VARIOUS SPEAKERS DENOUNCED PM NOVAS AND OTHER "TRAITORS" AMIDST CHANTS "DEMOCRACY" AND "LONG LIVE PAPANDREOU." GOVT TOOK STRICT MEASURES TO COPE WITH ANY DISTURBANCE BUT CROWD DISPERSED PEACEFULLY.

PAGE TWO RUQMAT 267A

COMMENT: PERMISSION TO HOLD RALLY WAS GIVEN TWO HOURS BEFORE PROCEEDINGS STARTED. SPONSORS OF MEETING HAD THREATENED TO MEET IN STADIUM IN DEFIANCE OF GOVT PROHIBITION AND LAST-MINUTE DECISION TO PERMIT GATHERING SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN PROMPTED BY DESIRE NOT TO CREATE IMAGE OF AUTHORITARIAN STATE AND TO CONTINUE IN DEMOCRATIC TRADITION OF CU.

ANSCHUETZ

BT

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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

**SUMMARY**

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY (87)

STATE GRNC

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 17

12215

1965 JUL 17 PM 6 05

POLITICAL SITUATION IN ATHENS ON JULY 16 WAS INDEED HIGHLY FLUID AS DESCRIBED EMBTEL 85. IN CONVERSATION AT FIVE THIRTY YESTERDAY COSTOPOULOS TOLD ME OF MEETING WHICH HE HAD JUST HAD WITH NOVAS, MITSOTAKIS, PAPASPYROU AND OTHERS. HE SAID PAPASPYROU AND MITSOTAKIS WERE DISCOURAGED WITH RESPONSE AMONG DEPUTIES TO NEW GOVT. THERE WAS A QUESTION WHETHER MITSOTAKIS, PAPASPYROU AND COMPANY WOULD IN FACT TAKE OATH AS MEMBERS NEW GOVT. CEREMONY HAD ORIGINALLY BEEN SCHEDULED FOR YESTERDAY MORNING AND THEN POSTPONED UNTIL SEVEN YESTERDAY EVENING. COSTOPOULOS SAID HE ARGUED THAT THERE WAS NO ALTERNATIVE

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 266A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO PROCEEDING; THAT IF THEY ABANDONED THE EFFORT TO FORM GOVT, PAPANDREOU AND HIS SON WOULD RETURN IN INVINCIBLE POSITION. HE ASKED MY ADVICE. I SAID I AGREED, AND ADDED THAT STRENGTH WHICH NOVAS GOVT SECCEDED IN MOBILIZING, EVEN IF IT SHOULD EVENTUALLY PROVE INSUFFICIENT TO FORM GOVT, WOULD FACILITATE TASK OF NEXT LEADER WHO MIGHT BE CALLED UPON TO TRY.

COSTOPOULOS SUBSEQUENTLY TELEPHONED ME TO SAY THAT MITSOTAKIS ET AL WOULD TAKE OATH WHICH THEY DID AT 7:45 P.M. ANSCHUETZ

BT ADVANCE COPY TO S/S-O 6:30 PM, 7/17/65.

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E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.5

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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~~SECRET~~ JULY 17

L I M D I S

12213

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011

1. WE HAVE BEEN MAINTAINING  
DURING CURRENT CRISIS.

(A) PENDING EVALUATION SITUATION EMBASSY POSITION SHOULD REMAIN VERY DISCREET, LIMITING OURSELVES TO EXPRESSION HOPE GOVERNMENT-BASED ON C.U. WOULD BE ESTABLISHED AND RECEIVE VOTE CONFIDENCE.

(B) NOVAS GOVT MAY NOT OBTAIN NECESSARY VOTES. IF NOVAS FAILS, MANDATE MAY BE GIVEN TO ANOTHER C.U. LEADER, PERHAPS

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 265A ~~SECRET~~  
STEPHANOPOULOS. THIS MIGHT BE TACTICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS SINCE BY REFUSING JOIN NOVAS GOVT STEPHANOPOULOS HAS AVOIDED BEING STIGMATIZED AS "TRAITOR". MORE IMPORTANTLY, IF STEPHANOPOULOS ACCEPTS THIS WOULD MOST PROBABLY ENLIST SUPPORT OF GOVT BY PUBLISHER LAMBRAKIS AND POWERFUL VIMA-NEA PRESS WHICH UNTIL NOW HAS ATTACKED NOVAS GOVT AND KING.

(C) PENDING CONCRETE INDICATIONS LAMBRAKIS PREPARED ACTIVELY TO COOPERATE IN SUPPORT NEW C.U. BUT NON-PAPAN-DREOU GOVT, EMBASSY WILL CONTINUE DISCREET SUPPORT FOR NOVAS EFFORT.

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E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5

NLJ 12-118

By UUA NARA, Date 03-23-2014

~~SECRET~~

-2- 86, JULY 17, FROM: ATHENS

(D) U.S. CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE DEVELOPMENTS AT THIS STAGE IS MARGINAL. CONSEQUENTLY, DECISION PROVIDE CONCRETE SUPPORT FOR NOVAS GOVT WHICH COULD COMPROMISE U.S. WILL BE DEFERRED PENDING MOMENT WHEN ACTIVE U.S. SUPPORT COULD BE DECISIVE.

2. DEPT'S ATTENTION INVITED TO SERIES EMBASSY MESSAGES REQUESTING RECONSIDERATION U.S. POSITION ON PL 480 PROGRAM. IF I WERE AUTHORIZED CONVEY TO NEW GOG STATEMENT OF U.S. WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE PL 480 PROGRAM SHOULD GOG DECIDE TO REQUEST THIS (ALONG LINES MY PREVIOUS RECOMMENDATIONS), THIS COULD PRODUCE

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 265A ~~SECRET~~

TONIC PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT WHICH MIGHT BE IMPORTANT TO NEW GOVT, CONSEQUENTLY, REQUEST PROMPT DECISION THIS MATTER WHICH MIGHT BE USED DURING COMING WEEK. DECISION WHETHER TO COMMUNICATE SUCH STATEMENT NEXT WEEK TO NOVAS GOVT OR TO USE IT TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO SUBSEQUENT LEADER CALLED TO FORM GOVT IN EVEN NOVAS RESIGNS WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED IN LIGHT CIRCUMSTANCES. ANSCHUETZ

BT

~~SECRET~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE PRIORITY 85  
INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 16

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 20

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RUFHFA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 17

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ JULY 17

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(1) AN AIR OF SEEMING CALM PREVAILS THIS MORNING FOLLOWING SWEARING IN OF NEW CABINET AND SEVERAL SERIOUS CLASHES BETWEEN POLICE AND DEMONSTRATORS LAST NIGHT. POLICE AND ARMY REMAIN ON STATE OF ALERT, AND ALTHOUGH RALLY AT ATHENS PANATHINAICO STADIUM HAS BEEN FORBIDDEN BY NEW GOVERNMENT, ANTI-NOVAS FORCES WILL PROBABLY TRY ANYWAY TO STAGE PROTEST GATHERING WHICH MAY RESULT IN BLOODSHED. COMMUNIST AVGHI IN HEADLINE CALLS ON "EVERYONE" TO GO TO STADIUM TONIGHT. LEFTIST-INFLUENCED

PAGE 2 RUQMAT 261A-~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
GREEK GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF LABOR (GSEE) ANNOUNCED NATION-WIDE 24 HOUR STRIKE, DATE UNSPECIFIED.

(2) LAST NIGHT STUDENTS AND OTHERS CLASHED WITH POLICE AT SEVERAL ATHENS' SQUARES, RESULTING IN INJURIES TO 101 PERSONS, 50 DEMONSTRATORS AND 51 POLICEMEN. 28 WERE SERIOUSLY INJURED. 80 PERSONS WERE ARRESTED, AND 10 WERE DETAINED. THREE EDA (EXTREME LEFT) DEPUTIES, INCLUDING KIRKOS AND BRILLAKIS, AND AT LEAST THREE PRO-PAPANDREOU CU DEPUTIES (ALEVRAS, LAZARIDES AND PAPAIOANNOU) WERE INVOLVED. POLICE WERE COMPELLED TO USE TEAR GAS. REPORTEDLY CABINET IS MEETING NOW TO CONSIDER ASKING KING FOR AUTHORITY TO USE SPECIAL MEASURES TO MAINTAIN PEACE AND ORDER.

(3) ERE DEPUTIES DECIDED YESTERDAY TO GIVE ERE LEADER CANELLOPOULOS "UNLIMITED" AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE PARTY'S POLICY IN PRESENT

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-2- 85, JULY 17, FROM ATHENS

SITUATION. ALTHOUGH PROGRESSIVE PARTY HAS NOT ANNOUNCED ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS NOVAS GOVT, IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED THAT 8 PROGRESSIVE DEPUTIES, PLUS 99 ERE DEPUTIES, WILL SUPPORT NEW PRIME MINISTER, IF THEY THINK ELECTIONS CAN BE AVERTED IN THIS WAY FOR TIME BEING.

(4) TODAY'S PRESS CONTINUES TO BE DIVIDED INTO TWO MAIN GROUPS; (A) ERE PAPERS AND ELEFThERIA SUPPORTING NOVAS AND PROMINENTLY REPORTING REVELATIONS IN MITSOTAKIS STATEMENT (SEE SEPARATE TELEGRAM); AND (B) AVGHI AND TO VIMA ATTACKING NEW GOVT AS CONSPIRACY AND, IN CASE OF FORMER, AS STOOGE OF PALACE AND DRAMATIZING POLICE VIOLENCE AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS.

PAGE 3 RUQMAT 261A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(5) PRESS ALSO PUBLISHES AND COMMENTS ON TEXT OF THREE LETTERS FROM KING TO PAPANDREOU AND LATTER'S TWO LETTERS OF REPLY. (TEXTS WILL BE POUCHED.) MESSAGES REVEAL MAGNITUDE OF KING-PAPANDREOU SPLIT OVER CHANGES IN ARMY AND DEFMIN LEADERSHIP AND OVER QUESTION OF GREEK CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (KYP) ROLE IN "ASPIDA" AFFAIR. KING'S LETTERS ALSO SHOW CLEARLY HIS LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN PAPANDREOU PERSONALLY.

ALTHOUGH PUBLICATION OF LETTERS WILL PROBABLY NOT CHANGE FUNDAMENTALLY ANYONE'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, THEY DO HAVE UNFORTUNATE RESULT FROM KING'S STANDPOINT OF CASTING HIM AS LEADING PROTAGONIST IN PRESENT DRAMA RATHER THAN AS EXALTED MONARCH REMOVED FROM THE EARTHLY POLITICAL ARENA.

COMMENT: KING-PAPANDREOU CLASH, NAMING OF NOVAS AS PRIME MINISTER, DESPITE CLEAR WARNING SIGNS DURING PAST SEVERAL WEEKS. MOST PEOPLE APPARENTLY EXPECTED THAT KING AND PAPANDREOU WOULD REACH SOME KIND OF LAST-MINUTE COMPROMISE OR, IN EVENT OF DISAGREEMENT AND RESIGNATION OF LATTER, THAT SOMEONE BESIDES NOVAS WOULD BE GIVEN MANDATE.

IN RETROSPECT, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF NOVAS' PRIVATE AUDIENCE WITH KING AT CORFU LAST SUNDAY AND NOVAS' MEETING LATER THIS WEEK WITH HOIDAS, IT APPEARS THAT UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN KING AND NEW PRIMIN WAS REACHED BEFORE THURSDAY EVENING, JULY 15.

PAGE 4 RUQMAT 261A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IT IS ALSO BELIEVED KOKKAS AND HOIDAS HAD BEEN IN CONTACT OVER PERIOD OF TIME PRIOR TO THAT DATE. NEVERTHELESS, EHRE

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-3- 85, JULY 17, FROM ATHENS

IS NO DEFINITE EVIDENCE THAT THEY HAD CLEAR IDEA ON NEXT STEPS AND ON EXACT COMPOSITION OF CABINET. FOR EXAMPLE, WHEN CHARGE SAW COSTOPOULOS JUST BEFORE KING-PAPANDREOU SHOWDOWN, HE GAVE NO HINT WHATSOEVER OF ANY INTENTION TO PLAY SUCH IMPORTANT ROLE IN LATER DEVELOPMENTS. IN FACT, COSTOPOULOS SUBSEQUENTLY ASSERTED KING TELEPHONED HIM AT FOREIGN OFFICE AFTER PAPANDREOU RESIGNATION AND INSISTED, DESPITE COSTOPOULOS REMONSTRATIONS, THAT COSTOPOULOS ACCEPT DEFMIN PORTFOLIO AS PATRIOTIC GESTURE IN MOMENT OF CRISIS.

DECISION OF MITSOTAKIS TO PARTICIPATE IN NEW CABINET WHICH EVEN YESTERDAY AGTERNOON WAS STILL HANGING IN BALANCE WAS OBVIOUSLY CRUCIAL. MITSOTAKIS IS BY FAR MOST POWERFUL FIGURE IN NEW CABINET NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF HIS SUPPORT BY ELEFThERIA'S KOKKAS BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF HIS PROVEN CAPABILITY AS A MINISTER.

ALTHOUGH MUCH OF WHAT HAS HAPPENED HAS BEEN "PLAYED BY EAR" THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION THAT ANDREAS PAPANDREOU FORCES, AS WELL AS EDA, HAD BEEN PREPARING THEMSELVES FOR THIS CONTINGENCY FOR MANY MONTHS. AS WE HAVE REPORTED, ANDREAS HAS MADE IT CLEAR ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT HE AND HIS FATHER WOULD NOT TAKE LYING DOWN ANY ATTEMPT TO THWART "POPULAR WILL" AND THAT "VIOLENT" REACTION WOULD CERTAINLY OCCUR. STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AND ORCHESTRATED WAVE OF TELEGRAMS AND PHONE CALLS OF SUPPORT TO PAPANDREOU FROM GRASS ROOTS HAVE DOUBTLESSLY BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY AMPLIFIED BY WELL-ORGANIZED PLAN.

PAGE 5 RUQMAT 261A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALTHOUGH WE CANNOT CONCLUSIVELY PROVE IT, WE SUSPECT THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ANDREAS AND EDA REGARDING CURRENT TACTICS, EDA ORGANIZERS WILL IN ANY CASE TRY TO EXPLOIT AND TO PROMOTE, AS THEY DID LAST NIGHT, ANY MANIFESTATIONS. OBVIOUSLY, ANY TACTICS RELYING ON VIOLENCE AND PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS DEPENDS LARGELY ON COMMUNIST AND COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS FOR MASS PARTICIPATION.  
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# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

SUMMARY 61

83

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Info

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

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TO RUEHCR/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 83

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INFO RSEHPA/AMEMBASSY PARIS 15

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RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 14

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RUQVHN/AMEMBASSY NICOSIA 18

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RSR

ATHENS RADIO ANNOUNCED THIS EVENING THAT PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE ATHANASIADIS-KNOVAS HAS COMPLETED TASK OF FORMING GOVT. KING SWORE IN 15 MEMBER CABINET AT 7:45PM. CONGRATULATED NEW MINISTER AND DEPARTED FOR CORFU. HE IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN TO ATHENS SUNDAY.

COMPOSITION OF CABINET FOLLOWS:

GEORGE ATHANASIADIS-NOVAS - PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER EDUCATION

STAVROS COSTOPOULOS - FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND DEFENSE

COUSTANTINE MITSOTAKIS - COORDINATION AND MERCHANT MARINE

DEMETRIOS PAPASPYROU - MINISTER TO PRIMIN AND JUSTICE

STELIOS ALLAMANIS - FINANCE

GEORGE BAKATSELOS - LABOR AND INDUSTRY

DEMETRIOS COSTIS - COMMUNICATIONS

CHRISTOS VASMATZIDIS - AGRICULTURE

CHRISTOS APOSTOLAKOS JA SOCIAL WELFARE

IAROVOS DIAMANTOPOULOS - HEALTH

JOHN TOUMBAS - PUBLIC ORDER AND INTERIOR

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-2- 83, JULY 16, FROM ATHENS

CHRISTOS AVRIAMIDIS - NORTHERN GREECE

ALEX VERNICOS - COMMERCE

A. ROUSSOPOULOS - PUBLIC WORKS

FOTIOS PITHOULIS - UNDERSECTARY FINANCE

COSTOPOULOS, MITSOTAKIS, PAPASPYROU, ALLAMANIS AND BAKATSELOS  
ARE HOLDOVERS FROM PREVIOUS CABINET WHILE TOUMBAS HAD BEEN  
A MINISTER IN THE PAPANDREOU GOVT FROM FEB 1964 TO JAN 1965.  
ALL MINISTERS ARE CU DEPUTIES. NEW FACES ARE RELATIVELY  
POLITICAL UNKNOWNNS. ANSCHUETZ  
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**SUMMARY**

**INCOMING TELEGRAM** *Department of State*

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6:12 PM

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Info

FROM: ATHENS

ACTION: SECSTATE PRIORITY 71

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DATE: JULY 15

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FOLLOWING IS PROCLAMATION ISSUED TONIGHT BY NEW PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE NOVAS:

"UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENTS OF POLITICAL SITUATION LED TO DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN PAPANDREOU AND CROWN. UNFORTUNATELY, APPEALS BY KING AND ALL OF US HAVE BEEN FRUITLESS.

FOLLOWING THIS, KING CONSTANTINE GAVE ME MANDATE TO FORM NEW CU GOV'T. SELECTION OF MY PERSON AIMS AT STRESSING SOVEREIGN, FIRM, STRONG DESIRE TO COOPERATE HARMONIOUSLY WITH PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY IN EVERY RESPECT BOTH IN LETTER AND SPIRIT OF REGIME.

RSR

I HAVE ACCEPTED MANDATE BEING CONSCIOUS OF THE CRITICAL SITUATION. MY UNIQUE AMBITION IS TO SERVE WITH ALL MY STRENGTH NATION AND DEMOCRACY FOR WHICH I HAVE MAZLYVQLED# THROUGHOUT MY LONG POLITICAL CAREER. MY ONLY PERSONAL DESIRE IS TO PROCEED RAPIDLY AND TO FULFILL MY MISSION. MY GOVERNMENT COMPOSITION WILL BE MADE FROM CU, AND IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CONTINUATION OF OLD GOV'T BY NEW ONE IS COMPLETELY AIHDFUL# TO CU PROMISE TO OUR PEOPLE.

WE SHALL NOW ABOVE ALL AIM AT MAINTAINING UNITY OF SOUL OF ALL GREEKS AND POLITICAL NORMALITY WHICH CONSTITUTE GUARANTEE FOR SAFEGUARDING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTION AND FOR CONSOLIDATING CONQUESTS REALIZED BY OUR PEOPLE.

I ADDRESS WARM PATRIOTIC APPEAL TO ALL GREEKS TO HELP NEW DEMOCRATIC GOV'T IN ITS TASKS. EVERY BWSZBRBANCE# OF ORDER AT THIS HOUR WILL BE BLOW AGAINST COUNTRY AND DEMOCRACY.

/GOV'T

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-2- 71, JULY 15, FROM ATHENS

GOV'T IS DETERMINED NOT TO ALLOW ANYTHING TO ENDANGER  
FREEDOM AND PEACE OF OUR PEOPLE. UNITED IN SOUL, CALM,  
UNSHAKABLE IN ALL DEMOCRATIC IDEALS, WE SHALL OVERCOME  
TODAY'S CRISIS AND SHALL PROCEED ON ROAD OF FREEDOM AND  
PROGRESS."

ANSCHUETZ

AL/1

#AS RECEIVED, CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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